

24
THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.

S P E E C H E S

OF

HON. MILTON S. LATHAM

DELIVERED IN

THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

ON

STEAMSHIP LINE FROM CALIFORNIA TO CHINA,
VIA SANDWICH ISLANDS AND JAPAN,

APRIL 10TH, 1862,

ALSO ON

THE RESOLUTION TO EXPEL SENATOR BRIGHT, OF INDIANA,

JANUARY 27TH, 1862,

AND

REPORT FROM THE MILITARY COMMITTEE,

ON

TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION BETWEEN SAN FRANCISCO AND THE AMOOR
RIVER, IN EASTERN ASIA, VIA BEHRING'S STRAITS.

WASHINGTON:

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1862.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from California to strike out all after the enacting clause of the bill and insert what will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

That the Postmaster General be, and hereby is, authorized and directed to enter into a contract, for a term not exceeding five years, for a sum not exceeding \$500,000 per annum, with such person or persons, being the lowest bidders, offering sufficient and satisfactory security, after due public notice, for the transportation of the United States mails, upon the best terms for the United States, monthly, and in thirty-five days, from San Francisco, California, *via* the Sandwich Islands and Japan, in case any port of that Empire shall be opened to the United States, to Shanghai, in China, and back, in steam vessels of not less than two thousand tons burden, of the best form of construction adapted to the navigation of the Pacific ocean; and any excess of the amount which may be contracted to be paid for this service over the aggregate of postages collected therefor shall be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

SECT. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That these mail steam vessels shall be appropriately armed and equipped as war steamers, in such manner as the Secretary of the Navy may direct: they shall each be commanded by a lieutenant of the United States Navy, and while employed in carrying the mails as herein provided, they shall be required to protect commerce in their route between Shanghai and San Francisco, in the same manner as if the said vessels were wholly devoted to that service.

S P E E C H .

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. President, it may perhaps seem strange that at a period like this, when the country is engaged in a death struggle for the maintenance of its integrity, its institutions, and laws; when the Treasury is being strained, and the people are about to be taxed to their utmost capacity by the exigencies of a cruel internecine war; when thousands and hundreds of thousands of brave hearts rush into battle to save the glorious inheritance of the fathers of the Revolution, the Senate of the United States should be called upon to listen to a proposition such as is contained in the bill now before it. The policy I am about to submit to your consideration is not merely commercial, and does not exclusively refer to navigation and trade. It is not merely one of material interest in which your constituents and mine have a large permanent share, but also one of sound far-sighted statesmanship, and in a military point of view, of paramount necessity, if we intend to put the most distant, and therefore the most exposed, part of the Confederacy in a state of defence against the possible aggression of a foreign enemy.

A line of steamers between San Francisco and Shanghai, in China, is not only a commercial desideratum to California, but would also save time and money to New York, Boston and Philadelphia importers, and commissions which are now earned by London bankers, through whose agencies and by whom credits our American merchants now make their payments for goods purchased in China running constantly the risk of interruption or an entire suspension of trade with that empire should our relations with England cease to be of that friendly character, which thus far, it has been our mutual good fortune to preserve and cherish. Before considering the present bill, I desire briefly allude to the first attempt made by our enterprising ship owners in New York to enter a serious competition with British merchants and navigators for the transportation of mails and the carrying of passenger and valuable freights by first class ocean ships. The proposition to carry the United States mail, as well as troops and munitions of war, from New York to Chagres, across Panama to San Francisco, and *vice versa*, stood alone. That line of steamer had no foreign rival, and no domestic one, the Nicaragua and, later, the Tehuantepec were started, and of course realized profits, while it aided in developing inexhaustible resources of our vast Pacific.

But the New York and Liverpool line, established by the enterprise and perseverance of E. K. Collins, had a fierce and deadly struggle to encounter. Not only had he to compete with the experience, mechanical skill, and nautical science of his British rivals of the Cunard Steamship Company, but also against vastly superior associated capital, and the wise liberality of a government which, by encouraging the private enterprise of its subjects, develops its own strength and increases its aggressive and defensive means. The Cunard Steamship Company receives large subsidies from the British Government, and receives them without being obliged to renew its applications from year to year, and without fighting a score of domestic rivals to secure a permanent support. With a company thus armed and equipped, and permanently secured in the possession of its unrivalled advantages, Mr. Collins had to contend, and though his profits were not equal to those of the British line, and though the American people did not sustain him with the unanimity which on the other side of the water insured the success and amassed a fortune to the British line, yet his ships were pronounced models of naval architecture, superior in speed and accommodations to the ships of his British rivals.

The support of mail steamers in all directions and on every sea, by Government aid, has become the settled policy of England, and vast are the benefits which she derives from it in the increase of her wealth, in the extension of her commerce, and in the overshadowing influence of her maritime power. We did, in an ill-fated hour, throw away these advantages, but I trust we have seen our error. If we now had a fleet of such steamers as the Adriatic, the Baltic, and the Atlantic, what advantages might we not have already derived from them in this unfortunate civil war? How much might not a fleet of such steamers have shortened the period of its duration, and how many millions would have been saved to the Government and the people which have been lavished on knavish contractors and speculators? We have seen what immense service these subsidized British mail steamers have been to England and France in the Crimean war; how useful, nay indispensable, they have been as transports in conveying troops from England and France to the shores of the Euxine; and we have had the testimony of so high a personage as the Emperor Napoleon, in his speech at the conclusion of the war, that but for the facilities offered by these English transports, such

large bodies of troops, as the allies were obliged to send to the Crimea, could never have reached that classical soil in time to make an impression upon it.

And what do we see now in our own international struggle? Are not the Collins and the Vanderbilt line of steamers those on which the Government now relies with the greatest safety? Are they not the cheapest, the safest, and in all respects, the most reliable of all the transports we have in the service? Where are there such steamers as the Vanderbilt, the Baltic, and the Atlantic? And have we not now reason to be thankful that there was a period when our Government, with statesmanlike forecast, resolved to have its mails carried by national steamers, and its flag periodically displayed in the principal ports of the world? And ought we not now to profit by the experience of the past, and the example set us by other nations, and establish permanently, as a Government measure, lines of steam communications to carry our correspondence, our treasure, our products, and our people under our own flag to the commercial marts of the world? The war in which we are now engaged, has demonstrated that, with our extensive sea-coast, it is principally transports that we stand in need of—fast and safe sailors which can be relied on in all kinds of weather.

For that important service, our mail steamers, and especially those which are proposed in this bill, if constructed and equipped as therein described, will always be fit; and in answering that purpose and regularly performing the mail and passenger service for which they are especially created, they ought to satisfy the demands of the Government and the public.

The armament of these steamers is with a view of rendering them serviceable in protecting our flag in the China seas and the Indian Archipelago—seas infested by pirates—and against all unlawful acts of the peoples and Governments of those distant countries. To say that these lines of steamers ought to be self-supporting, and not in part at least a charge to the Government, is to take a very short-sighted view of the matter.

Perhaps if the whole were left to private competition—if no other powerful Government was aiding and promoting the success of such lines when established by its own subjects—we might leave it to the enterprise and perseverance of our citizens to run a race with their English or French rivals. But when we find all mail steamship lines, wherever established, backed and subsidized by their respective Governments, it is worse than idle to suppose that a company of private citizens, unaided by Government support in our own country, may successfully compete with them. It is with these mail steamers as it is with armies and navies of different nations. If one nation increases its navy, the other, not wishing to become inferior, is obliged to follow the example, or subside into a power of less consideration

and political influence. The question is not what is *absolutely* necessary, but what is *relatively* necessary, not to be distanced in the national race!

The mail facilities granted to its subjects by the British Government have been followed by France, Austria, and Russia, who subsidize their respective lines of mail steamers in the Mediterranean, knowing and fully appreciating the importance of having these regular messengers and representatives appear at shortest intervals in the principal ports of that sea. It is by such means, rather than by the blood and carnage of expensive and uncertain naval battles, that France is steadily advancing her interests in the Mediterranean sea, which she hopes in course of time to make essentially a *French lake*. In spite of the three British strongholds, Gibraltar, Malta, and Corfu, in the Ionian islands.

Let the Isthmus of Suez be pierced principally by French enterprise, and you will immediately see a line of French mail steamers plowing the Red Sea, and trading coastwise to Aden, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. And yet, how small is the commerce which France has to protect and foster in comparison to our own! But the Government of France knows the importance of having its business done by its own agents, and of being in constant communion with all foreign countries now at peace with herself. Regular vessels of war are at best but slow messengers of disaster or wrongs suffered by a nation's ships, while a periodical mail communication is sure to carry tidings within a specific period, and to lead to prompt reparation or relief. Now, if this course of reasoning applies to such small and inland seas as the Mediterranean, how much more striking must be its application to the Atlantic and Pacific oceans! It is a melancholy fact, and has been repeatedly reproached to us by British and French writers and orators, that in spite of our large commercial tonnage, the American Government has had but little care to protect the interests of its merchants and navigators. The China sea and the Indian Archipelago are known to swarm with pirates, yet how few vessels of war have we ever had in commission in those seas; and where would have been our ships, and their valuable cargoes, if they had not been protected by the presence in those waters of British, French, and even Dutch vessels of war?

Until a very late hour we have not had ships of war enough in commission to bear our share in the international police of the sea; and yet, previous to the present civil war, our commercial tonnage was larger than that of every other nation on the globe! Now, a line of armed mail steamships such as is proposed in this bill, is the very best means of establishing a maritime police, and of protecting our navigation and commerce in every ocean. Each ship would be a sentinel on the watchtower, a picket thrown out to observe the position or the advance of a foreign enemy. There has certainly never been a

time when these sentinels were more necessary than now, when we may at any moment be involved in a foreign war or beset and molested by insurrectionary cruisers.

Mr. President, I look upon the establishment of this line of armed steamships between San Francisco and Shanghai, in China, as a duty which we owe to the people of the United States, in virtue of that part of the Constitution which makes it imperative on Congress to provide for the national defense and the common welfare.

The possession of a Pacific empire imposes duties upon us commensurate with the magnitude and vastness of the interests involved, and it behooves us to discharge those duties manfully and to their fullest extent, if we would prove ourselves equal to the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth. No national obstacle, no national calamity ought to deter us from discharging our entire duty in that respect; and it would certainly redound to our national honor, and increase the respect of the civilized world for our people, institutions, and laws, if in the midst of the gigantic disasters which have befallen us we were to exhibit that unbroken spirit, that manly courage, and that calm, statesmanlike forecast which are not only equal to guiding the State through its present perilous crisis, but also providing for its future welfare and grandeur in our national career of maritime power and pre-eminence.

Senators! we are the only people of pure Caucasian origin, at home on the shores of the vast Pacific ocean; we alone possess a Pacific empire, and we are bound to extend its power and influence, morally, if not physically, not only on this continent but on the coast of Asia. This is not only our national policy, but a necessary condition of our national existence, and the only means through which we can secure progress and success. You of the Atlantic sea-coast have the mission to watch and maintain friendly relations with the Powers of Europe; we on the Pacific coast are called upon to develop power, and to assert moral sway over the Asiatics. We are a most important link in the chain which civilization has drawn round the world, and by which Providence accomplishes His mighty deeds. This is part of our great mission; and if we fail in it, you of the eastern States, and of the great Mississippi valley are equally involved in the disgrace.

A nation is great as long as she has a great mission to fulfill; she declines and perishes when she ceases to be true to that mission or proves herself inadequate to the task imposed. It may be objected that a line of mail steamships from San Francisco, by the way of the Sandwich Islands and Japan, even with considerable Government assistance, would not be able to realize large profits to its shareholders, perhaps scarcely pay the interest on its outlays.

This may be so at the beginning; but I am

willing to leave this matter to the enterprise and ingenuity of our merchants and ship-owners, and to the revolution in trade which such a line of steamers is sure to effect. It is *their* business, not ours, to make the line, in a pecuniary point of view, remunerative. The benefits arising to the whole country from the establishment of such a line are not to be measured by the amount of dividends realized by its stockholders; neither is our present trade with China and Japan a correct means of estimating the probable earnings of the line from its passenger and freight trade. Trade itself begets trade, and the successful prosecution of any enterprise is sure to discover means of economizing power and money, and of turning small advantages to great account. An old commercial proverb says, "it is the first step which costs dear;" the others follow naturally and with comparatively little effort. We have certainly a growing commerce with China to protect and cherish, and we are constantly imperiling our rapidly increasing trade with Japan by lacking a regular periodical communication with that wonderful empire, which cannot be established without a line of steamers such as is contemplated in this bill.

Our exports to China have doubled within the last year, and there is no reason why we should not import from China, not for our own consumption, but also for other American, if not European, markets. We enjoy, really, a greater popularity in the East than any European nation. Our friendly intercourse with the people of that remote quarter of the world has never been interrupted by diplomatic difficulties or an appeal to arms, and above all, we do not excite their jealousies by the possession of powerful colonies on their own continent or the neighboring islands. Our diplomatic relations with China and Japan have, with scarcely an exception, been of the most satisfactory character, and we may, without fear of contradiction, assert that we are in favor with both the Government and people. We are indeed more favorably known than any other nation, and have none of those prejudices to overcome which arise either from distrust or a sense of injury which they have not the power to resent or punish. The road, then, is open to us, the people are willing to trade with us, and we possess the products which they most need, and for which those countries furnish the best markets.

The State which I partly represent and the Territory of Nevada possess the basis of the most extensive bullion trade in the world; and yet, what is the course of the precious metals sent from California to New York? The greatest part of it is immediately shipped to England, to be either drawn away by our American merchants in China, or to be further shipped on British account to India and China to aid in settling the commercial balances of all Europe with the merchants of the Celestial Empire.

Now, why should we be any longer de-

prived of the facility of shipping our precious metals, including the products of the most extensive quicksilver mines in the world, direct to Japan and China, saving thereby time, commission, and interest to our China merchants, and earning freights on the shipments of our own products to our navigators? In other words, why should we not render our merchants independent and high above *foreign* bankers, *foreign* mail steamers, and the good will of *foreign* Governments?

Our trade with China, as it is now managed, may at any time be entirely cut off, should our diplomatic relations with England suffer a serious interruption, and would be greatly impeded were England to be engaged in war with any other maritime nation.

It is neither wise nor just to expose so valuable a portion of our foreign commerce to such terrible contingencies, and it is our duty to provide against them while we may yet do so in perfect safety, and without giving offence to our great commercial rivals. In spite of our immense agricultural productions, we are yet essentially a commercial and sea-faring people. Indeed, we are almost amphibious. The spirit of commerce pervades all classes of our vast community, and we are at home on the water, whether it be on the ocean, on our Mediterranean of lakes, or on our majestic navigable rivers. Our products are so manifold as to afford the largest basis of commercial operations and the most remunerative exchange of commodities. Our own markets hold out the greatest inducements to foreign traders, while our people in enterprise, activity, and celerity of motion may well challenge the world for a comparison.

Why, then, should we not be able to carry on our trade with China and Japan without the intermission of England? Why should we not export our bullion direct from San Francisco to China, rather than allow it to travel all round the globe to perform a single commercial transaction?

Mr. President, the commercial independence of which I speak refers not only to merchants in the Pacific States, it applies equally to those of New York and to the business men all over the country. At present most cargoes for New York or Boston are purchased in China by bills on London, drawn against letters of credit issued by English capitalists, for which the latter charge a commission of two per cent. This commission and the premium on the exchange between New York and London would certainly be saved, if the funds required for the purchase of goods in China could be forwarded in gold and silver by means of regular mail steamers directly from San Francisco to Shanghai, against letters of credit issued in New York or Boston. By this means the New York or Boston banker would be substituted for the London banker, a new market would be opened to our precious metals, and we should save at least one or two freights, (to New York and Liverpool,) besides economizing interest and

insurance. But the greatest saving would be in time, as the merchant in our Atlantic cities would be brought nearer to China from two to three weeks. To illustrate the whole operation by an example, let us suppose that a New York merchant wishes to invest, say \$50,000 in the purchase of China goods. As the case now stands, he would be obliged to remit to his agent in China a credit on London to the amount of ten thousand pounds sterling, (\$50,000.) The China agent would use this credit by selling his draft at the usual exchange of four shillings and tenpence, which would give him \$41,379 31, the amount which he can invest in China goods for the New York market. The New York merchant would have to protect this draft from China, when it matures in London, by a remittance from New York sufficient to cover the amount of the draft and two per cent. commission charged by the London banker, say ten thousand two hundred pounds sterling (\$51,000) at an exchange in New York say from nine to ten per cent. premium. Let us suppose it to be but nine per cent., or about four shillings one penny and two and a half farthings to the dollar, and he will have to pay for it \$49,408 80, showing a difference of \$8,029 49 between the sum he is to remit to the London banker, and the amount realized in China, which difference is to be added to the cost of the goods, or, which is the same thing, to be deducted from the profits on the sale of the goods.

Now, suppose we had a regular line of monthly steamers from San Francisco to China, so that the gold and silver bullion could be shipped directly from San Francisco against letters issued by New York merchants, the whole transaction would then resolve itself as follows:

The New York merchant would send a letter of credit to his agent in San Francisco, authorizing him to draw on New York, and directing him to sell his drafts in San Francisco, and to remit the proceeds in bullion to China for investment in merchandise.

The San Francisco agent would draw a bill on New York for \$50,000, sixth months sight, which he would sell at four per cent. discount, amounting to \$2,000, so that he would realize \$48,000, the equivalent of which in bullion or coin he would ship directly to China.

The loss on this shipment in the shape of freight, insurance, interest, &c., would not exceed eight per cent., and would, if the business were once regularly established, be less, leaving in the hands of the China agent \$44,160, namely:

Proceeds of sale of New York draft.....	\$48,000
Less eight per cent. on \$48,000.....	3,840
Balance.....	\$44,160

The New York merchant, when the draft from San Francisco matures in New York, would owe \$50,000, showing only a difference of \$5,840 between the amount paid in

New York and the sum realized on his credit in China, which is less by \$2,189 49, than the cost of the London credit, which was \$8,029 49.

This very considerable difference on comparatively so small an investment would, perhaps, be diminished by two months' interest on the whole amount, owing to the different dates of the drafts. The proceeds of the San Francisco draft would have to be immediately invested in bullion for shipment to China, while the draft on London would not require to be drawn in China till the purchase of the cargo is completed, which would probably amount to the saving of sixty days' interest, or about one per cent. But even with this deduction made, the balance would still be largely in favor of the New York credit, while, at the same time, it would render the New York merchant independent of the London capitalist. Let the new process be once reduced to a system, and New York credits will be generally substituted for London credits—making New York, instead of London, the center of the great bullion trade of the world.

But the question may be asked, what is the American agent in China to do with his bullion if the goods which have been ordered are not in the market, or not attainable at the prices named in his letter of instruction? Well, in that case, he has only to invest the \$44,160 in sterling bills at six months' sight, at the usual exchange of four shillings and tenpence to the dollar—the rate calculated in the London credit—and he would have in bills on London the amount of £10,672, which is £472 better than the £10,200 or their equivalent, at nine per cent. premium, \$49,408 80 in New York.

In the computation of these exchanges the Hong Kong currency was taken for the basis. When remittances shall be made by our San Francisco and Shanghai steamers it will, of course, be necessary to use the Shanghai currency; but the principle will remain the same—a Spanish or Mexican dollar buying a dollar's worth of goods in either place.

At the present time, all purchases made by American merchants in China for export to California are made by means of foreign credits. Even if a credit on China is obtained at San Francisco, to be used in the purchase of goods at Hong Kong, the goods are bought by drafts on London, which are eventually protected by the San Francisco merchant, who pays the London banker a commission of two per cent. It is this dependence on British capitalists which colonizes our American-China merchants, taxing them for the benefit of the London bankers, allowing British navigators to earn freights, British insurance companies to effect insurances, and the lordly grocers in Leadenhall street—as the British East India Company are satirically styled—to assume the control of our eastern commerce!

To show how injuriously the present circuitous bullion route from San Francisco to New York, thence to Southampton, and thence to India and China, operates on our mer-

chants, it is sufficient to state that the shipments of treasure of all kinds from San Francisco to China, in 1860, were less than \$3,500,000; whereas, during the same year, £3,500,000 sterling, or about five times as much in silver, was shipped to China from Southampton.

That silver came from Mexico, and would undoubtedly have been sent to China by the way of San Francisco, at a great saving of freight, insurance, and interest on the outlay, had we had a line of steamers from San Francisco to Shanghai. Let such a line be established, and it cannot but change the bullion trade of the world. A line of steamers has already been established on the Pacific coast of Mexico, from Acapulco to San Francisco; steamers are also running from Chili, in South America, to Vancouver's Island, and other lines will be undoubtedly opened, all of which will act as feeders to the proposed line from San Francisco to Shanghai. I will here add the exports of silver from Southampton to India, China, and the Straits, for the last six years:

Year.	India.	China.	Straits.	Total.
1856.....	£8,381,505	£3,166,514	£565,972	£12,113,991
1857.....	11,378,017	4,479,315	874,583	16,731,915
1858.....	3,295,835	1,355,117	102,981	4,753,933
1859.....	11,163,384	3,374,250	290,887	14,828,521
1860.....	4,385,966	3,657,443	435,330	8,478,739
1861, to				
July 25,	4,159,684	574,358	83,016	4,817,058

The shipments from San Francisco to China in the year 1860 were as follows:

Gold bars, valued at.....	\$1,803,523
Silver bars, valued at.....	135,260
Mexican dollars.....	1,423,169
Mexican ounces, (gold,).....	8,000

Total.....	3,369,952
Shipped to Japan.....	94,200

Grand total \$3,464,152

From these statistical facts, which I have taken pains to obtain from the best and most reliable sources, Senators will, I trust, be sufficiently convinced that a line of monthly steamers from San Francisco to Shanghai, in China, would not only insure our independence of British capitalists, and save large sums, in the shape of commissions, freight, interest, and insurance, to our merchants, but also extend our bullion trade with China, change the direction of the silver bullion trade of Mexico, and thereby enhance the relative value of the precious metals, by transferring them at cheaper rates to those markets where they are exchanged for goods or employed in the liquidation of commercial balances.

The exchanges of California and the other States of the Union are now exceeding forty millions of dollars annually; and the cost of remitting treasure exceeds one and a quarter million. By securing the eastern markets to our precious metals, the entire gold production of California and the silver production of the inexhaustible Nevada mines may be in greater part absorbed in China in a few years, China remittances serving in that way not only the purposes of purchasing eastern

merchandise, but also of settling commercial balances due in China by English and French merchants. It is by operations like these that the city of New York will finally become the commercial center of the world, where all balances will in the end be adjusted.

These are our prospects, if we take advantage of our position, and develop, as we ought, the wealth and power which a kind Providence has bestowed on us; but how are we circumstanced at this moment. We are dependent on British steamers for mail facilities to Brazil, the coast of South America, the Mediterranean, the east and west coast of Africa, all the ports of India, the Mauritius, Singapore, Java, the Philippine Islands, Australia, and New Zealand; shall we also continue in the same state of dependence in regard to the ports of Japan and China?

Japan has, till within a late period, been entirely closed to our trade, and China was only accessible at certain ports. All this is now changed. Japan is ready to exchange her products with ours, and China sends not only her goods but her people to our shores. This trade, which has only just sprung up, must increase with the increase of our population and the development of our resources, aided, as it now is, and will continue to be, by the gradual removal of the obstructions which the Chinese Government still imposes on a certain portion of her commerce.

California has already felt the new impetus thus imparted to her industry and commerce, for it not only has stimulated her mercantile enterprise, but vastly increased her productions.

The whole number of tons of shipping which arrived at San Francisco, in the year 1859, was 59,831, of which 47,519 cleared for China, and 18,378 for other ports in the East Indies.

The arrivals from China were 27,814 tons, and from the East Indies 10,780 tons.

The value of cargoes was \$2,662,241, and the freights thereon exceeded \$400,000.

The imports of treasure into San Francisco for 1859 amounted to \$2,516,152, and the exports to \$47,640,462, (including precious metals,) of which \$3,100,755 was sent to China in forty-five vessels. The amount shipped to China in 1860 was \$3,374,680, in thirty-two vessels.

The exports of commodities, exclusive of bullion, increased \$3,000,000, amounting in 1860 to \$6,532,433, of which \$4,918,336, or nearly *five millions*, were from California alone. The exports of barley increased from 15,000 sacks, in 1854, to 163,249 in 1859; while the wheat export, from 4,067 sacks, in value of \$14,900, in 1854, had, in 1860, attained the valuation of \$1,854,259. The exports of wool had, in like manner, increased from \$14,000, in 1854, to \$392,502, in 1860, showing an increase in material wealth under disadvantage of imperfect communication with the other States, and greater distance from the Government, unprecedented in the history of any other State in the Union.

What we now ask is to be connected by steam with that country whose population alone exceeds one-third the whole number of inhabitants of the entire globe, and to be afforded thereby that security, which, from the nature of our geographical position, we stand more in need of than any other portion of our fellow-citizens in the Atlantic States or in the great valley of the Mississippi. Let us have the mercantile facilities which give value to our productions, by securing them the best markets; let shipbuilding on our Pacific coast, which will be undoubtedly *aided*, not interfered with, by the establishment of a line of steamers from San Francisco to Shanghai, increase with the extension of our commerce; and let the maritime population which is sure to spring up by such fostering care be our strong arm of defense against the aggression of a foreign foe.

The whole civilized world has recognized our mission to connect western Europe with eastern Asia by means of steam across our continent; let us prove ourselves equal to the task, and let us not be deterred from our purpose though we may be stunned by the roar of cannon and the clash of arms of a gigantic internal rebellion.

So far I have only considered markets, commissions, and prices; but TIME, too is a most essential element in all commercial transactions, and quick information, followed by "swift orders," a principal cause of success. Our China merchants depend not only for remittances on London bankers, but they also derive their information from all eastern ports through British channels. The news which our New York merchant receives from India and China has been known and published in London and Liverpool from ten to fifteen days earlier, and orders may have gone out from these cities to Calcutta, Hong Kong, and the ports of Japan, turning this earlier information to good account, and forestalling or clogging the markets, in which the American-China merchant appears at best but as a gleaner after the harvest has been secured by his British rival. The telegraphic communication between New York and San Francisco is only a partial remedy of this great disadvantage under which our traders with the East are now laboring; it will not be completely overcome and turned to our advantage until a regular monthly steam mail shall complete the chain of direct communication with Japan and China. Our San Francisco and New York merchants will then derive their information by the quickest and entirely American route, and will, no doubt, use their swift knowledge as readily and with the same substantial profits now enjoyed by their commercial rivals in European ports.

The trip from San Francisco to Shanghai, as I shall presently show, can easily be accomplished in thirty-five days, and with the present telegraphic communication the New York merchant can easily receive advices from his correspondent in China in *thirty-six*

days, whereas at present, by the Peninsular and Oriental route, *fifty-six* days to New York would be very quick time. The establishment of the San Francisco and Shanghae line, therefore, would quicken the information of the New York merchant to the full extent of *twenty days*!

Having thus shown the advantages of the line, and the eminent fitness of establishing it at this juncture, let me speak of the route itself, its probable expense, and the absolute necessity of aiding it by Government subsidies. First, of the route.

All agree that its natural terminus must be Shanghae, in China, and that the ships must touch at Honolulu, in the Sandwich group of islands; but there seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether they shall proceed from Honolulu to Peel island, one of the Bonin group, or to Kanagawa, in Japan, and thence to the terminus of the route in China. The route via Honolulu and Peel island is two days, say four hundred miles, shorter than that via Honolulu and Kanagawa; but the latter route offers greater inducements in the way of commercial advantages, and ought, in my opinion, to be selected.

Our trade with Japan is rapidly increasing, and the Japanese Government, as I have already had occasion to observe, is kindly disposed towards us, and inclined on its part to foster that trade. Eastern people are easily offended; they are great sticklers for etiquette, and not apt to forgive slights.

A line of American steamships from San Francisco to Shanghae, not touching at any Japanese port, would be construed into an unpardonable offence, and injure our growing trade with that empire in more than one respect. A mistake of that kind would be both a political and commercial blunder. The distances to be run have been computed as follows:

From San Francisco to Sandwich Islands.....	2,150 miles.
From Sandwich Isl'ds to Cape King, Japan.....	2,575 "
From Cape King to Kanagawa.....	60 "
From Kanagawa to Shanghae, China.....	1,125 "

Total6,910 "

This whole distance could be run by a steamer, with an average speed of two hundred and twenty miles per day, in thirty-one and a half days; adding three and a half days for detention, coaling, &c., all could be easily accomplished in thirty-five days. A first-class steamer, equal in tonnage and power to one of our late Collins line, running at an average speed of two hundred and sixty-five miles a day, would accomplish this distance in a shorter period; but the expense of such steamers running such great distances, and being in consequence deeply laden with coal, would hardly be in proportion to the advantages derived from them. One of the Collins line of steamers would consume fifty-five tons a day, while a first class steamer of two thousand tons burden, with modern improvements of model, engine, and boilers, and without top-hamper of upper deck, &c.,

would not exceed an average consumption of twenty tons a day, and a war steamer of the same tonnage, such as it is proposed to build, would not exceed twenty-five tons a day.

Let us suppose that with economy and improvements the consumption of coal is reduced twenty tons a day, and computing the expenses of a line of steamers from San Francisco, via the Sandwich Islands and Kanagawa, in Japan, to Shanghae, in China, making an average speed of two hundred and twenty miles per day, and thirty-one days' *running* time, it would foot up as follows:

1. Four propellers of 2,000 tons each, costing each at San Francisco \$3 0.000	\$1,200,000
2. Supply of coal for monthly trips from each port, requiring two coalings per month, and to have always six months' supply on hand, would require for each steamer from the Sandwich Isl'ds to Kanagawa, 3,600 miles. burning on an average 20 tons per day, say seventeen days' steaming, 340 tons of coal; and from the Sandwich Islands to San Francisco, against currents and head winds, allowing from thirteen to fifteen days' steaming, 300 tons of coal, with at least two additional days' supply each way, making 80 tons. Added together, the total required at the Sandwich Islands for each steamer 720 tons of coal. Six months' supply would be six times as much, or 4,320 tons, at an average cost, say, of \$22 per ton, or for the whole, \$95,000, as the <i>minimum</i> of the outlay indispensable to the successful prosecution of such a line of steamers.	
In addition to this, it would be required that a corresponding amount of coal should be constantly kept on the way to supply the wants of the steamers, which would at least involve a first outlay of coal.....	\$25,000
Which added to the sum of.....	\$95,000

Would make a total investment of...\$120,000

A supply of coal must also be had at Kanagawa of nearly or quite the same amount as at the Sandwich Islands

And a supply of coal of at least 1,000 tons must be had at the Bonin Isl's to cover possible contingencies, at a cost per ton, *landed*, of at least \$25 \$25,000

Total outlay for coal in foreign ports.....	\$265,000
At San Francisco only half the amount of coal would be required which is necessary at the Sandwich Islands or Kanagawa, say	\$60,000

Total amount of investment for ships and coal \$1,525,000

The expense of running the line to and from San Francisco to Shanghae and back, taking sixty-two days' running time, and five days' detention each way, and five days at Shanghae, making in all seventy-two days, to which must be added three days for discharge of cargo and paying off crew at San Francisco, making seventy-five days, at a probable cost of \$60,000, would be as follows:

Twelve trips a year.....	\$720,000
Seven per cent. interest on the original investment of \$1,525,000.....	106,755
Insurance on cost of steamers, at eight per cent. per annum on \$1,200,000.....	96,000
Insurance on investments in coal to the amount of \$325,000, at three per cent.....	9,750
For repairs on steamers per annum.....	100,000
Depreciation on steamers per annum, say ten per cent.....	120,000
Grand total of yearly expense.....	\$1,152,500

The receipts or earnings of the line may be safely estimated as follows:

Freights on bullion to Japan and China, say annually ten millions of dollars, (10,000,000,) at the rate of three quarters of one per cent.....	\$75,000
Through passengers each trip, say twenty per trip, at \$150 each.....	72,000
Through freight from China, average per trip, \$3,000, on twelve trips.....	36,000
Through freights to China from San Francisco, at the beginning merely nominal.....	
Business with the Sandwich Islands per trip, say \$5,000, twelve trips.....	60,000
Business between Kanagawa (Japan) and Shanghai, (China,) average per trip \$7,500...	90,000
Total.....	\$333,000

or about one-third of a million of dollars, leaving an annual deficit of \$819,500, or in round figures \$800,000, to be covered by earnings for carrying the United States mail, by the increased commerce which the establishment of the line is to operate, or by the economy which skill, experience and practice will introduce in the management of the line.

The estimates here given are on the authority of the first business men of the country, whom I have consulted, and may be substantially relied on. There can be no doubt as to their correctness as far as the beginning of the enterprise is concerned, though, as the line would become better known, and its managers better acquainted with the wants and business capacities of each country, a reduction in its expenses and an increase in the earnings of the line may reasonably be expected.

Thus, in the beginning, the passenger trade would certainly be limited, so that twenty passengers each trip to China appears to be a very large allowance.

Up to this moment no vessel has carried China passengers from Shanghai to San Francisco, all Chinese travel being from Hong Kong direct by sailing vessels, which mode of travel will continue so long as Chinese emigration is confined to the laboring classes; but it is hoped that the establishment of a line of steamers to Shanghai, and the increasing liberality of the Chinese Government, may effect a change even in that respect, and that the increased facilities will also produce an increase of travel.

The amount of freight to be earned by the steamers will also remain small for some time, the bulky articles on which freights are principally earned from San Francisco to China being naturally carried in sailing vessels, and the voluminous articles of Chinese exportation to this country seeking the same means of transportation.

A large allowance, however, has been made in the estimates just submitted for freight on bullion. To carry \$10,000,000 annually would require half the entire amount from European ports to be carried by our steamers. That our San Francisco and Shanghai line would eventually carry the *whole* of it, may not seriously be doubted; but for that purpose it must first have earned a reputation for safety, regularity, and dispatch, which, I fully be-

lieve, the line will enjoy after being once in operation, sustained by our Government.

That the steamers of this line will eventually carry passengers and goods besides bullion, we may, I repeat, *expect in the course of time*; also, that the expense of running the line may be reduced; but years must elapse before these advantages can be fully available to the company which engages in the enterprise. The first advantages derived from the establishment of the line will not accrue to the stockholders of the company, but to the merchants of New York and other Atlantic cities, as well as to those of San Francisco; and it will also accrue to the Government, which requires early information of what occurs in the East and on the Pacific, and to the whole people of the United States, who will thereby be brought in as regular communication with the people of Asia as they now are with the people of Europe.

It will, perhaps, be suggested that a line of steamers from San Francisco to Shanghai might carry a considerable amount of raw silks for European markets. Our own consumption of raw silk for manufacturing purposes is as yet very small; but the European consumption of raw Chinese silk has, during the last few years, wonderfully increased, France importing probably not less than \$20,000,000 worth per annum. The silk crops of Upper Italy, on which the French manufacturers heretofore chiefly relied, have for many years past partially failed, and the disturbed state of that country, which has so recently been the theatre of "war and rumors of war," is naturally opposed to the peaceful operations of industry and commerce. China raw silk, moreover, possesses considerable advantage over the best Italian silk, especially in the manufacture of the more elegant lustrous textures, and will, on that account, remain a permanent article of exportation from China to England and France, and in all probability to Italy herself; but it is scarcely probable that our California and China steamers will ever carry any considerable portion of that merchandise. Few costly articles bear transshipments, and China silks from Shanghai to Havre and Liverpool would need to be twice transhipped: once in San Francisco, and once or twice on the Isthmus of Panama.

This disadvantage is shared by silks shipped by the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company, but with less damage, as I am about to show. Silk is a delicate article, which requires skillful handling, and in regard to which the *personnel* of the British Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company have acquired an experience and dexterity against which it is hopeless for any new line to compete with success. It would be difficult and expensive to effect insurances against loss or injuries sustained by so costly and delicate an article on a new line, and a reduction of freight on the Peninsular and Oriental line might, for the present, take that trade entirely from our steamers.

Neither can we expect to carry passengers

from and to Europe by our California and Panama lines, to and from China. Passengers from Shanghai, by that way would require from seventy-five to seventy-eight days to reach the port of Southampton; whereas the Peninsular and Oriental line carries them in from fifty-three to fifty-five days, by the Isthmus of Suez, the average distances run being these :

	Days.
From Shanghai to Hong Kong.....	7
From Hong Kong to Point de Galle.....	19
From Point de Galle to Suez.....	13
From Suez to Alexandria	2
From Alexandria to Malta.....	4
From Malta to Southampton.....	8
Total.....	53

These distances are of course not run by the same steamers, but by those corresponding with one another, and belonging to the same company, so that one is ready to start as the other arrives and transfers her passengers and treasure.

By the Panama route the time would be as follows :

	Days.
From Shanghai to San Francisco.....	35
Time and detention in San Francisco, at least.....	3
From San Francisco to Panama, usual passage	14
Detention at the Isthmus, and at Aspinwall, at least	3
Aspinwall to Southampton, usual passage.....	18
Total.....	73

We cannot, expect, therefore, that our San Francisco and Shanghai line will ever become the mere passenger route to and from China, especially now, when the work of piercing the Isthmus of Suez is steadily progressing toward completion, making the whole route from Southampton, England, or Marseilles, France, a water route; nor can we reasonably expect to carry merchandise from China to or from European markets. It is quite a different thing, however, with bullion, which is chiefly produced on this continent, and the largest portion of it in our own country or with commercial men making a round of business engagements.

A subsidy from our Government, as low as \$500,000 for which a return is made by carrying the mail and munitions of war, besides protecting our commerce and whalers in the Pacific ocean, and thereby saving the Government the expense of keeping three or four vessels of war in commission in those waters, is therefore the *minimum* I can ask for the proposed San Francisco and Shanghai line of steamships; that sum being, as I think I have shown, the smallest that can induce capitalists to embark in the establishment of such a line, with a reasonable hope of continuing it with success.

We do not wish Government to hold out insufficient inducements; neither do we desire any company to come periodically here soliciting additional aid and protection. Let us do justice to ourselves, a company who may undertake it, and the country, by making at once an adequate appropriation to secure the accomplishment of our design; and let us trust the enterprise, perseverance, and inge-

nulty of men who engage in this great work, that they will prosecute it to an issue creditable to the commercial and maritime reputation of themselves and their countrymen.

And now, Senators, after explaining the policy and necessity of this line in a military point of view; after demonstrating the vast commercial advantages which would flow from it to our merchants in the eastern cities, and to the country generally; after clearly establishing the fact that without such a line our merchants must continue to depend on British mail facilities for correspondence and information; what is it that the citizens of loyal California ask of your generosity and patriotism?

A simple mail contract to the amount of not more than \$500,000, not permanently, but merely for a period of not more than five years, to carry the United States mail in *armed* steamers, monthly, from San Francisco, by the way of the Sandwich Islands, to Kanagawa, in Japan, thence to Shanghai in China, and back again, by the same route, to the same port.

The vessels to be of not less than two thousand tons burden, adapted to the navigation of the Pacific ocean; to be commanded for greater Government security by an officer of the United States Navy; to be employed both in carrying a mail and in protecting and increasing American commerce. The equipment and armament of these vessels shall be under the control of the Secretary of the Navy, in the same manner as if they were a part of the American Navy; to be in all other respects assimilated to men-of-war in the regular service. No party or parties of speculators or contractors, as I have said in opening the subject to you, are waiting or lying in ambush to seize upon your appropriation to further exclusive private interests.

The bill provides that the Government shall give the contract to the lowest bidder, taking proper securities for its fulfillment. Neither is anything to be paid to contractors, except that portion of the annual sum in the way of compensation not covered by postages received by the line.

With the annual increase of those postages, the amount to be furnished out of the Treasury of the United States would constantly diminish, and it is not at all impossible that after the line shall have been in successful operation for a number of years, its whole expense to the Government may be defrayed by postages alone.

In the estimates of the probable expenditures and receipts of the line, which I have just submitted to you, and which I had the honor to assure you were based on the experience of our best merchants and navigators, an excess of \$800,000 of the expenditures over the receipts would have to be provided for by the Government; but the annual stipend provided for in this bill is only \$500,000, leaving still a deficiency of \$300,000 to be covered by the ingenuity and inventive genius of our shipowners and merchants, not, perhaps, directly by the earnings of the line, but by such mediate openings of trade as

experience and enterprise will suggest and use.

What more powerful stimulus could be given to any company to devote itself with zeal and discretion to the object of their association! The line, therefore, which it is here proposed to establish, answering all the purposes contemplated in the bill, will tax the proverbial ingenuity of men who engage in such enterprises to the utmost to protect themselves from loss.

We shall by this establishment add an active force to our national Navy; we shall appear as a maritime Power in the Pacific ocean; we shall render our merchants commercially independent of Great Britain, and we shall create new avenues of wealth for the mercantile genius of our people. There can be no stronger inducements to legislation than these; no nobler task for legislators than by their acts to promote the enterprise, wealth, security, and power of their country!

The benefits of this bill will inure not merely to California, but increase our national reputation and standing, and elevate us as a people. I urge the passage of this bill in the name of civilization and progress, and with a view to our *independence* as a great commercial Power; I urge it on the score of our national honor, which is constantly exposed to insults from foreign nations while our Pacific coast is unprotected by an adequate steam navy; and I ask it in the name of religion, the seeds of which, if the provisions of this bill are honestly carried out, will be planted through this medium in distant climes, destined to be redeemed from the darkness of superstition.

It is not merely the patriotic citizens of the loyal State of California who, through their representatives in Congress, ask your co-operation in what they deem a national enterprise, the far-sighted citizens of the loyal Empire State have equally made an appeal to your undoubted liberality and statesmanship. The New York Chamber of Commerce memorialized Congress almost simultaneously with the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco in aid of the same object. The memorial of the chamber of San Francisco bears date November 29, 1861, and that of New York is dated December 5, 1861, both express the same sentiment and urge the same reasons for accomplishing a great national object. They believe, and the people of the great State of New York are convinced, that the establishment of a line of mail steamships from San Francisco to Shanghai, in China, is a necessary part of our system of national defense, as much dictated by prudence, forecast, and true statesmanship as our river and harbor defences on the Atlantic coast or the fortifications on our western lakes and harbors.

California is, in many respects, the richest and one of the most enterprising of States. She is the greatest prize, the most imperial jewel that a foreign foe or coalition of foreign enemies to our country would dare to cast a

covetous eye upon. Her position is exposed, and her population is, as yet, in no proportion to the vastness of her dominion, her length of sea-coast, her inexhaustible mineral wealth, and her boundless agricultural resources.

Yet, small as the number of our people may be compared to the princely domain, which it has pleased Providence to open to their enterprise and labor, their hearts are stout, their will is strong, their spirit resolute, and their loyalty and devotion to good government as boundless as the ocean which laves their shore.

She will stand by the Constitution and the Union as long as civilization shall endure on this continent—as long as the memory of Washington shall be cherished by his countrymen. We do not come in fear and trembling, as the inhabitants of a distant province, to seek the protection of a strong central Government; we are willing and resolved to do our part as men in supporting and upholding that Government, through which we have prospered, though all the Powers on earth were to conspire to produce its ruin.

All that we ask is to aid us in carrying out our strong resolution; to co-operate with us in the patriotic attempt to establish our commercial and maritime independence of Great Britain, and to create and develop within ourselves the means of repelling foreign aggression, and competing successfully with foreign enterprise.

When we reflect on the vast expenditures entailed on our country by this revolution, when we count the millions it has already swallowed up, and the millions that are yet to be expended, to render the country safe against all complications, a small *bonus*, conditionally asked, to enable us of remote California to contribute our share in maintaining our national honor and supremacy, appears indeed trifling.

Let us show to the world that our arm is not palsied, our recuperative energies not spent, nor our undaunted spirit humbled by even a gigantic internal struggle. Now is a proper time to prove to the world that we have surrendered none of our high purposes; that we are still equal to the execution of all the magnificent designs which as men, with an undying faith in our great mission, we have dared to conceive. All national progress, all greatness of character, all real virtue, is in *action*; to stand still is to recede, and to recede is but the beginning of national decline.

Mr. President, in this hour of trial, I, for one, cannot doubt my countrymen; cannot for a moment give room to the thought that this great country of ours, this world in itself, blessed with everything that Heaven can bestow on land and people, is to be annihilated by folly and crime. Vast, as it is, and capable of sustaining a larger population in proportion, than all Europe, nature intended that its magnificent domain should be inhabited by one great people, of common

origin and blood, a common language, a common literature, a common inheritance of manners and customs, a common wealth, and a common history—no *imperium in imperio*!

All our great rivers, the great arteries of commerce, flow from north to south; all our mountain chains run from northeast to southwest, equalizing, far more than the difference in latitude would warrant, our climate, and producing greater uniformity of temper and disposition in our people, north and south, than is observed among the inhabitants of other continents.

The southerly winds from the Gulf of Mexico are as exhaustingly felt in Boston as in Savannah; and the northern gale, blowing from the Polar Sea, is as chilly in New Orleans in the midst of winter as on the north-western lakes.

The natural productions of the North and South may vary, and create a mutual dependence of one section of our country on the other; but the people, with all the pains which short-sighted persons have taken to prove the contrary, do not demand two distinct classifications, and should be indissolu-

bly bound together in fate and fame. And though fratricidal hands be still uplifted in bloody strife against a common national glory, let us still beseech the God of nations and of battle to preserve and bring us forth a great, magnanimous, overshadowing people, whose influence shall be felt on every continent and in the most remote corner of the globe, and whose history may yet for many years continue what it was, an unfinished epic.

Instead of a fatal dualism, which ruined Greece, divided Rome, and now divides our strength, rendering us paralyzed at home and helpless to resist coalitions of foreign Powers, we shall then be again a glorious unit, rejoicing in the manhood of our national strength.

May the time soon come when patriotism will doff his sectional shackles, and embracing once more the national faith, gather, as in days of yore, round the old and honored national standard.

May the lost Pleiades be restored from the night of their present aberration to that brilliant galaxy of stars emblematic of our fixed faith, and typical of our pathway of onward progress.

RESOLUTION OF SENATOR WILKINSON, OFFERED THE 16TH OF
DECEMBER, 1861.

WHEREAS, The Hon. JESSE D. BRIGHT heretofore, on the 1st day of March, 1861, wrote a letter, of which the following is a copy:

“WASHINGTON, March 1st, 1861.

“To His Excellency JEFFERSON DAVIS,

“*President of the Confederation of States.*

“MY DEAR SIR: Allow me to introduce to your acquaintance my friend, Thomas P. Lincoln, of Texas. He visits your Capital mainly to dispose of what he regards a great improvement in fire-arms. I commend him to your favorable consideration as a gentleman of the first respectability, and reliable in every respect.

“Very truly, yours,

“JESSE D. BRIGHT.”

And whereas we believe the said letter is evidence of disloyalty to the United States, and is calculated to give aid and comfort to the public enemies, therefore,

Resolved, That the said JESSE D. BRIGHT be expelled from his seat in the Senate of the United States.

Referred to Judiciary Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

The Judiciary Committee, to which was referred the Resolution to expel the Hon. Jesse D. Bright from his seat in the United States Senate, respectfully

REPORT.

That they are of opinion the facts charged against Mr. BRIGHT are not sufficient to warrant his expulsion from the Senate, and they therefore recommend that the resolution do not pass.

Upon Report the vote stood in Committee—

For it, FOSTER,* (Republican.)

TEN EYCK, “

COWAN, “

HARRIS, “

BAYARD, (Democrat.)

POWELL, “

Against it, TRUMBULL, Chairman, (Republican.)

* Mr. Foster subsequently voted for expulsion.

S P E E C H .

Mr. LATHAM said :

Mr. PRESIDENT: During the two years that I have been a member of this body, upon only two occasions have I occupied the attention of the Senate on any subject that did not relate immediately to the constituency which I here represent. The duties of a representative of a new State, are sufficiently arduous in themselves to occupy quite as much of legislative time as belongs to him. I have always endeavored to follow the advice which I recollect to have read of Cato the Younger, who, when told by one of his friends, "Cato, the world finds fault with your silence," replied, "I shall begin to speak when I have things to say that deserve to be known." I should preserve my silence upon this occasion, as I have heretofore done, if I did not believe that now, at the close of this debate, there were facts and things which should be brought to the attention of this body, before it acts upon so grave and serious a matter as the expulsion of one of its number.

We seem, sir, to be occupied more with the present than is consistent with the remembrance of the past; to be actuated by impulses which are now living and moving within our hearts in the great national struggle in which we are engaged, rather than to be possessed of a recollection of the condition of this body, and of the country, when the offense charged upon the Senator from Indiana was committed.

We live, sir, in strange times—times, I venture to say, of which no man in this body, however gifted he may be with superior intelligence and knowledge, can foresee the final result. It is an era of revolution; and what accompanies all revolution, there is broadcast a spirit of distrust and of suspicion, a necessary concomitant, as it were, of all great upheavings in political and social organizations. Friend suspects friend, and neighbor suspects neighbor. Distrust enters the fireside; yes, even into the sanctuary of "Him who rides upon the storm." I had hoped, and I will still believe, that at least in this body—the most conservative known to our Constitution and laws, more sacredly guarded than any other branch of our Government—we can act without prejudice, passion, or an undue influence of the suspicion of the times, but with that degree of independence and dignity which have always belonged to the American Senate. If, however, I am mistaken in this, I may well say, as did Rosse, the nobleman of Scotland:

"Cruel are the times when we are traitors
And do not know ourselves; when we hold rumor
From what we fear, yet know not what we fear,
But float upon a wild and violent sea,
Each way and move."

The honorable Senator from New York, [Mr. HARRIS,] in his address on last Friday, correctly told this body, it was a fixed principle of all jurisprudence that each man was to be punished for a crime, according to the laws in existence at the time of the commission of that crime; that it was regarded as so great a violation of well-settled principle to punish for an act which was not a crime at the time of its commission, that all your constitutions and bills of rights have expressly guarantied that there shall be no *ex post facto* law. If, this be so of law, it is equally so of public opinion. The public opinion of to-day is not the public opinion of the 1st day of March last. The public opinion of to-day will not, judging by the past, be the public opinion of the 1st day of October next. The Senator from Indiana, therefore, when he wrote the letter upon which he is now arraigned at the bar of the Senate, is to be judged by the public opinion of the 1st day of March last. As an humble Senator upon this floor, I protest in my place, as representing a loyal constituency, against judgment being passed upon members of this body for sins that they may have committed when the voice of the people was entirely different from what it is to day.

Mr. President, it is an unpleasant duty for me to recall our condition on the 1st day of March last. It is like the recollection of a horrid vision. Nothing but a sense of duty and the reasons which operate upon my own mind in making up my judgment as to how I shall vote upon the pending question, would induce me to refer to acts which occurred before this body—to declarations made, to treason disclosed upon the floor of the Senate at the period to which I refer. At that time the Senators from Texas, the Senators from Virginia, and several others who are now leaders in this great rebellion, had a voice upon this floor. They had a right to vote and control the legislation of the country. They moulded your policy. They voted in secret session upon all questions affecting your foreign relations, and in open session on all which related to your domestic concerns. Notwithstanding their presence, there was still a majority here on the 1st of March faithful to your Government, and who have proved it by their subsequent acts.

Now, sir, what occurred subsequent to the 1st day of March? The resolution offered by the Senator from Minnesota says that the letter written by the Senator from Indiana upon the 1st day of March is evidence of his disloyalty, and for that reason he should be expelled from this body; I state merely the substance of the resolution. Now I submit the question to every Senator here, if this letter

had been produced upon the 1st day of March, if it had been seized upon the person of Mr. Lincoln before he left the city of Washington, and had been read at the Secretary's desk, would this body then have expelled the Senator from his seat in the Senate? That is the correct criterion for us to determine what we should have done under public sentiment as it existed then. For my part, I unhesitatingly say that this body would not have expelled the Senator from Indiana. Nay, more, sir; I venture the prediction that if the letter had been read by the Senator from Minnesota in the Senate, on the 2d day of March last, it would have fallen harmless and indifferent upon our ears, and if you had expelled him you would have visited judgment such as you were unwilling to visit upon any other member. You would have dealt more rigorously, more severely with the Senator from Indiana for writing that letter than you were willing to, with those, who by their subsequent acts, have shown their disloyalty and are now arrayed in arms. Sir, let me read to the Senate, what probably many members of this body recollect full well, the language used by one of the Senators from Texas on this floor, on the 2d day of March last, the day after this letter was written by the Senator from Indiana; I read from the Congressional Globe of the Thirty-Sixth Congress, second session, page 1398:

"But as things are, it is useless, I am satisfied, to talk about a reconstruction. This Federal Government is dead. The only question is, whether we will give it a decent, peaceable, Protestant burial, or whether we shall have an Irish wake at the grave. [Laughter.] Now, I am opposed to fighting, and would prefer a peaceable burial: but if the Republican Senators insist upon fighting, and they can get the backbone again put into their President-elect, and can get Mr. Chase reinstated in the Cabinet, from which he has been expelled, I do not know but that we shall have to fight. If their President has recovered from that 'artificial panic' under which he was laboring a short time ago, under the advice of the Lieutenant General and the Secretary of War (I believe they advised him to be frightened, so say the Republican papers in defense of him; it was done by the card; he goes by the platform; if they can recover him from that artificial fright under which he was laboring and get him to take the Chicago platform fair and square, we shall have a fight; otherwise we shall not. I think myself it would be for the benefit of both sections that we should not have an Irish wake at our funeral; but that is for the North to decide, and not for us. Believing—no, sir, not believing, but knowing—that this Union is dissolved, never, never to be reconstructed upon any terms—not if you were to hand us blank paper, and ask us to write a constitution, would we ever again be confederated with you. Your people have been taught to hate us; your people have been taught to hate our institutions; your people have been taught to believe that you are Pharisees: that your phylacteries are full; that you are entitled to the high places in the synagogue; and you come and thrust yourselves into our presence, and thank God before our faces that you are not like us poor publicans, and your company has become distasteful to us; you tell us that ours is distasteful to you; we say, 'grant it, then we will separate;' and you say we shall not. Then we are going to make the experiment, and we will trust in Providence."

Here was a bold declaration made upon the floor of the Senate by the Senator from Texas that they were for war, that they meant war, that the Union of our fathers was dissolved, and that he spoke from his seat merely by the comity of this body. Well, sir, he did not rest

there. In a subsequent part of the same speech, he said:

"I was saying, Mr. President, that the parenthesis that is now incumbent in the War Office, following, unfortunately, the advice of the Lieutenant General, attempted, in a very feeble way, coercion. The Senator from Illinois seemed to be shocked at my speaking with a feeling of gratification at the flag of what he chooses to call my country being insulted. It is not the flag of my country, I hope and believe; but I have not official information on that point. That flag was never insulted with impunity until it floated over a cargo of Black Republican hirelings, sent to one of the sovereign States of this Union to coerce them to obedience to a Government that was distasteful to them."

At this point he was interrupted by the Senator from Wisconsin:

"Mr. DOOLITTLE. I think I shall rise to a question of order. If the Senator from Texas does not know whether he belongs to this country or not, if he is really a foreigner in his own estimation, I desire to know whether he is in order in addressing the Senate of the United States. [Laughter.]

"Mr. WIGFALL. I think the point is well taken; and if the Senator and those who act with him, will acknowledge my State to be out of the Union, I will take my seat without a word further."

He subsequently went on to say:

"A shot was thrown athwart the bow of the vessel containing armed men; they displayed a flag, and it was fired at. I did say that that vessel had swaggered into Charleston harbor, had received a blow in the face, and had staggered out; and that the Secretary of War, who had brought the flag of this country in a condition to be fired at, had never dared from that time to this, to resent the injury and insult; and in consequence of that, the State to which I owe my allegiance has withdrawn and cut loose from all connection with a Government that allows its flag to be so insulted. She has plucked her bright star from a bunting that can be fired at with impunity. If your President elect has recovered from that artificial fright, see if you cannot induce him to try and wipe out the insult; but I predicted last night that he would not; and I predict again that he will not. You fear to pass your force bills; you abandon them in both Houses. If you can get a Cabinet properly organized, with fire-eaters enough in it, the Cabinet may precipitate the country into a war, and then call upon what is denominated the conservative elements of your party to sustain the country in a war in which you have already involved it; but I know, and you know, that those men whom you represent are not in favor of war, and that their representatives here, a large number of them, fear it. What will be the result, I do not know; and, to be very frank, I do not care."

"Now, having explained why it was that I felt rejoiced at this insult to the flag of your country, I shall take up very little more time. The country is composed of States; and when that Government which was established by those States, and that flag which bears upon its broad folds the stars representing those States, is used for the purpose of making war upon some of those States, I say that it has already been degraded, and that it ought to be fired at, and it should be torn down and trampled upon. These are my feelings upon the subject; and 'if this be treason, make the most of it.' I owe my allegiance—and Senators are not mistaken about that, for I have said it frequently—to the State which I here represent."

I have read, Mr. President, somewhat at length, what the Senator from Texas said upon this floor on the 2d day of March. Does any gentleman pretend that a Senator could rise in his seat and say that to-day? Yes, sir, he said it, and this body sat quietly by and heard him say it. They heard him defend an insult to the flag of our country, and to boast, in the hearing of the Senate, in the terms which I have read, that, if for no other reason, he wanted to withdraw from a Government that had not independence and pluck enough to assert its own dignity. Mr. Wigfall was one of the chief spirits of this whole rebellion. If

Mr. Davis was the Achilles, Mr. Wigfall was his *fidus Patroclus*. As several Senators sitting on this side will recollect, he directed his public documents to "Jefferson Davis, president of the confederate States, Montgomery, Alabama," under his frank, and passed them from desk to desk long after the 1st of March, while he continued to occupy a seat upon this floor, making an exhibition of his distaste and contempt for our Government. I ask the honorable Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SUMNER] if he boils over with such indignation at this letter of the Senator from Indiana; if he now regards it in so heinous a light; if he can find no other parallel to express his hatred except to compare the Senator from Indiana to Catiline, why did he not, as the Cicero of the Senate, rise in his seat and denounce the gentleman who uttered such language upon the floor of the Senate? Compared to his offense, that of the Senator from Indiana is like the flickering of a rush-light to the blazing sun, or if you choose the other comparison of darkness, a London fog to Cimmerian darkness. In the estimation of the Senator from Massachusetts, the Senator from Indiana is a Catiline—the most ignoble character recorded in history, who outraged his own daughter, murdered his own brother, and, to bind himself with his confederates against the government that he was about to overthrow, sacrificed a human body and partook of the flesh. But no, sir, the Senator from Massachusetts sat as quiet and as calm as a summer day. There was no reverberation of the thunders of his eloquence and hurling of his shafts of fierce bitterness and sarcasm against one boasting openly of his disloyalty to the Government until he drove him from the Senate, when he might have exclaimed in the sublimity of his denunciation, as Cicero did, "*abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit.*" An earnest and faithful Senator from the State of Connecticut, [Mr. FOSTER]—if he will permit me so to style him, for I recognize in him a gentleman who never speaks on this floor except with earnestness and sincerity—feeling the wrong and outrage perpetrated on this body, rose in his seat, some days later, it is true, and offered this resolution. I read from the Journal of the proceedings of March 8, 1861:

"Mr. FOSTER submitted the following resolution for consideration:

"Whereas, L. T. Wigfall, now a Senator of the United States from the State of Texas, has declared in debate that he is a foreigner; that he owes no allegiance to this Government; but that he belongs to and owes allegiance to another and foreign State and government:

"Resolved, That the said L. T. Wigfall be, and he hereby is, expelled from this body."

Was that resolution adopted? If you will turn a little further on you will find that it came up on the 11th of March; I quote from the Journal:

"On motion by Mr. FOSTER,

"The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution submitted by him the 8th instant, to expel Hon. L. T. Wigfall from the Senate; and

"On motion by Mr. CLINGMAN, to amend the resolution by striking out all after the word 'whereas,' and in lieu thereof inserting, *it is understood that the State*

of Texas has seceded from the Union, and is no longer one of the United States: Therefore,

"Resolved, That she is not entitled to be represented in this body.

"Pending debate,

"On motion by Mr. CLARK, that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business,

"It was determined in the affirmative."

The subject then went over to the 12th of March; and on that day, ten days after the letter of the Senator from Indiana, was written, what did the Senate do?

"The Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution submitted by Mr. FOSTER, the 8th instant, to expel Hon. L. T. Wigfall from the Senate; and,

"On motion by Mr. SIMMONS,

"Ordered, That the resolution, with the amendment proposed by Mr. CLINGMAN, be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary."

I need but recall the fact that in that committee room, it slept the sleep of death, as quietly as if buried in the "tomb of the Capulets." Ten days after the letter complained of was written by the Senator from Indiana, the Senate emphatically, by its own vote—for the reference of it to the Committee on the Judiciary was that decision—refused to expel the Senator from Texas for language such as I have here read, for boasts unprecedented in their nature, and for an outrage which every Senator knows would not for one instant be tolerated on this floor to-day.

The action of this body did not end here, sir. It was extended to other Senators that were as deep in the guilt of this revolution as was the Senator from Texas. The honorable Senator from New Hampshire, [Mr. CLARK,] in the remarks that he submitted to the Senate on Friday, read to you an extract from a speech made on this floor by the President of the so-called southern confederacy, as proof that the Senator from Indiana must have known what their purposes were, and that knowing them, he too was equally as guilty as the Senator from Mississippi. With all due courtesy and respect to that Senator, he will pardon me for saying, that if he knew them he knew more than any other Senator at that time; and if he sat quietly by and heard the speeches made by Toombs and Iverson and Benjamin and Davis, and knew what their designs and intentions were, and permitted them to go from this body and this city unarrested, he is as guilty as the Senator from Indiana, and of quite as high an offense, known to the law as *misprision of treason*. A distinguished Senator of Rome once said that "a senator should be as solicitous for his Government as the bee is for her hive;" and if he had been faithful to this Government, if he had known the crimes they were about to perpetrate, if he foresaw the condition of affairs which existed after the 12th day of April, I ask why it was that he sat quietly in his seat and did not have them arrested before they left this body, as traitors to your Government, and as guilty of treason against your Constitution and your laws?

Mr. President, let me recall to the attention of the Senate what those gentlemen said. I

read it, not for the purpose that the honorable Senator from New Hampshire did, of showing knowledge on the part of the Senator from Indiana, or any one else, of the intent or purpose of those gentlemen, but to show what they said, and what this body afterwards refused to do as a just punishment and rebuke for their language and conduct. I desire, first, to call the attention of the Senate to language used on the 7th day of January, 1861, by a Senator from the State of Georgia, who I believe was afterwards Secretary of State of the so-called confederate States. He was never expelled from this body; more than that, he never even took formal leave, but went defiantly; and no attempt was ever made even to place upon him the stigma that we, in the month of July last, placed upon other Senators, by including them in a general resolution of expulsion. On the 7th of January, 1861, Mr. Toombs said:

"The success of the Abolitionists and their allies under the name of the Republican party, has produced its logical results already. They have for long years been sowing dragons' teeth, and have finally got a crop of armed men. The Union, sir, is dissolved. That is an accomplished fact in the path of this discussion, that men may as well heed. One of your confederates has already, wisely, bravely, boldly, confronted public danger, and she is only ahead of many of her sisters because of her greater facility for speedy action. The greater majority of those sister States, under like circumstances, consider her cause as their cause; and I charge you in their name to-day, 'Touch not Seguntum.' It is not only their cause, but it is a cause which receives the sympathy, and will receive the support of tens and hundreds of thousands of honest patriotic men in the non-slaveholding States, who have hitherto maintained constitutional rights, who respect their oaths, abide by compacts, and love justice. And while this Congress, this Senate, and this House of Representatives, are debating the constitutionality and the expediency of seceding from the Union, and while the perfidious authors of this mischief are showering down denunciations upon a large portion of the patriotic men of this country, those brave men are coolly and calmly voting what you call revolution—ay, sir, doing better than that: arming to defend it. They appealed to the Constitution, they appealed to justice, they appealed to fraternity, until the Constitution, justice, and fraternity were no longer listened to in the legislative halls of their country, and then, sir, they prepared for the arbitrament of the sword; and now you see the glittering bayonet, and you hear the tramp of armed men from your capital to the Rio Grande. It is a sight that gladdens the eyes and cheers the heart of other millions ready to second them. Inasmuch, sir, as I have labored earnestly, honestly, sincerely, with these men to avert this necessity so long as I deemed it possible, and inasmuch as I heartily approve their present conduct of resistance, I deem it my duty to state their case to the Senate, to the country, and to the civilized world."—*Congressional Globe, Thirty-Sixth Cong., second session, page 267.*

Here was an open declaration made by the Senator from Georgia upon this floor, that he had armed his people to resist your Government and laws, that he advocated their cause, that he approved of their acts; and yet not one voice was raised demanding that he should be expelled from our Halls or that punishment should be visited. How did he wind up that address?

"You will not regard confederate obligations; you will not regard constitutional obligations; you will not regard your oaths. What, then, am I to do? Am I a freeman? Is my State, a free State, to lie down and submit because political fossils raise the cry of the 'glorious Union?' Too long already have we listened to this delusive song. We are freemen. We have rights; I have stated them. We have wrongs; I have recounted

them. I have demonstrated that the party now coming into power has declared us outlaws, and is determined to exclude four thousand millions of our property from the common Territories; that it has declared us under the ban of the empire, and out of the protection of the laws of the United States everywhere. They have refused to protect us from invasion and insurrection by the Federal power, and the Constitution denies to us in the Union the right either to raise fleets or armies for our own defence. All these charges I have proven by the record; and I put them before the civilized world, and demand the judgment of to-day, of to-morrow, of distant ages, and of Heaven itself, upon the justice of these causes. I am content, whatever it be, to peril all in so holy, so noble a cause. We have appealed, time and again, for these constitutional rights. You have refused them. We appeal again. Restore us these rights as we had them, as your court adjudges them to be, just as all our people have said they are; redress these flagrant wrongs, seen of all men, and it will restore fraternity and peace and unity to all of us. Refuse them, and what then? We shall then ask you, 'Let us depart in peace.' Refuse that, and you present us war. We accept it; and inscribing upon our banners the glorious words 'liberty and equality,' we will trust to the blood of the brave and the God of battles for security and tranquillity."

Does any one suppose that a speech of that kind would be tolerated on the floor of the Senate to-day? *Tempora mutantur*. What we listened to patiently, quietly, under the influence of public feeling and opinion then, would not for one instant be tolerated at the present time; and why? We regarded them as but the vamping platitudes of bravado, and not as the language of men who were really in earnest and meant what they said. This body, as well as the country, believed that these were efforts made by the leaders of the great southern rebellion to force the dominant party of the country into compromises without which they said they were unwilling to continue as members of our American Confederacy. Why, sir, let me read to you a short passage which the Senator from New Hampshire, in alluding to the remarks made by the president of the so-called southern confederacy, did not call the attention of the Senate to on Friday. I read from Mr. Davis's speech of January 21, 1861:

"Secession belongs to a different class of remedies. It is to be justified upon the basis that the States are sovereign. There was a time when none denied it. I hope the time may come again, when a better comprehension of the theory of our Government, and the inalienable rights of the people of the States, will prevent any one from denying that each State is a sovereign, and thus may reclaim the grants which it has made to any agent whomsoever.

"I therefore say I concur in the action of the people of Mississippi, believing it to be necessary and proper, and should have been bound by their action if my belief had been otherwise."

Upon the 21st of January, 1861, Mr. Jefferson Davis told you that he approved of the act of his State in entering into an alliance against your Government, and forming an *imperium in imperio* at the city of Montgomery, in the State of Alabama. What occurred subsequently? Another Senator from the State of Georgia, (Mr. Iverson,)—it is true, more violent in his temper, but no more in earnest than the gentleman whose language I have quoted—on the 28th of January, 1861, said:

"We care not in what shape or form, or under what pretexts you attempt coercion. We shall consider and treat all and every effort to assert your authority over us as acts of war, and shall meet and resist them. You

may send your armies to invade us by land; your ships to blockade our ports, and destroy our trade and commerce with other nations. You may abolish our ports of entry by act of Congress, and attempt to collect your Federal revenues by ships of war. You may do all or any of these or similar acts. They will be acts of war, and will be so understood and treated; and in whatever shape you attack us we will fight you. You boast of your superior numbers, and your greater strength. Remember that 'the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.' You have your hundreds of thousands of fighting men. So have we; and fighting upon our own soil, to preserve our rights, vindicate our honor, and defend our homes and firesides, our wives and children from the invader, we shall not be easily conquered. You may possibly overrun us, desolate our fields, burn our dwellings, lay our cities in ruins, murder our people, and reduce us to beggary; but you cannot subdue or subjugate us to your Government or your will. Your conquest, if you gain one, will cost you a hundred thousand lives, and more than a hundred million dollars. Nay, more, it will take a standing army of a hundred thousand men, and millions of money annually to keep us in subjection. You may whip us: *but we will not stay whipped.* We will rise again and again to vindicate our right to liberty, and to throw off your oppressive and accursed yoke, and never cease the mortal strife until our whole white race is extinguished, our fair land given over to desolation."

Here was a bold proclamation made by this Senator on the 28th day of January, 1861, that so far as his constituency were concerned, it "was war to the knife, from the knife to the hilt." I might consume time in quoting what Mr. Benjamin said, what Mr. Slidell said, and what others said who took formal leave of the Senate. I might recall the contempt with which they spoke of our Government, and the insults they cast in the very teeth of the northern people. Mr. Slidell said, the same North that had furnished vessels to carry on the slave trade would furnish them their privateers in carrying on their war against the United States. He told this body that the patriotism of the northern people was entirely subordinate to the "almighty dollar"—that we were not in earnest, and that we dared not attempt to assert the authority and the dignity of our Government.

All these things occurred contemporaneously with, even before, the writing of this letter by the Senator from Indiana, which is regarded as so criminal on his part. Did the Senate expel those gentlemen? None ever acknowledged their right to withdraw from this body; they did not resign; they merely left because they claimed that their States having seceded, they, as representatives of their States, approving of the action, were no longer willing to occupy places upon this floor. For weeks their names were called upon your list. You put your face against the whole doctrine of secession, and would never concede, for one instant, directly or indirectly, that they had withdrawn from this body, or ceased to be members of it. You disapproved of their conduct, but you did not expel them, though you had the same right that you exercised in the month of July, when you expelled Senators who were not present, and who were no more members of this body than they were during the month of March. Let us see what did occur in regard to these gentlemen. A resolution was submitted by the honorable Senator from

Maine, [Mr. FESSENDEN,] on the 13th day of March, 1861, which I will read from the Journal of the Senate:

"Mr. FESSENDEN submitted the following resolution for consideration:

"Resolved, That Albert G. Brown and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, Stephen R. Mallory of Florida, Clement C. Clay, jr., of Alabama, Robert Toombs of Georgia, and Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, having announced that they are no longer members of the Senate, and having withdrawn therefrom, their seats in this body have thereby become vacant, and the Secretary is directed to strike their names from the roll of members."

Here was no great outburst of indignation against these Senators; no proposition to put the brand of disgrace upon them. They were simply to be dropped from the rolls of the Senate, and the Secretary was to cease to call their names. This was on the 13th day of March—twelve days after this letter was written by the Senator from Indiana. On the 14th of March, I find:

"On motion by Mr. FESSENDEN, that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the resolution yesterday submitted by him, declaring the seats of certain Senators vacant, and directing the Secretary to strike their names from the roll of the Senate.

"It was determined in the affirmative."

Then came up the resolution for consideration; and it was modified, on the motion of Mr. FESSENDEN, to read as follows:

"Resolved, That Albert G. Brown and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, Stephen R. Mallory of Florida, Clement C. Clay, jr., of Alabama, Robert Toombs of Georgia, and Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, having announced that they are no longer members of the Senate, and having withdrawn therefrom, their seats in this body have thereby become vacant, and the Secretary is directed to omit their names from the roll of members."

"The resolution having been further modified, on the motion of Mr. CLARK—"

The very Senator who is now visiting such indignation on the Senator from Indiana for what he wrote thirteen days before—

"to read as follows:

"Whereas the seats of Albert G. Brown and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, Stephen R. Mallory of Florida, Clement C. Clay, jr., of Alabama, Robert Toombs of Georgia, and Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, as members of the Senate, have become vacant: Therefore,

"Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to omit their names respectively from the roll."

"On the question to agree to the resolution, as modified on the motion of Mr. CLARK, it was determined in the affirmative."

Here is your own Journal showing that, fourteen days after the writing of this letter by the Senator from Indiana, this body acted so gingerly, if I may so express myself, in condemnation of the acts of the very leader and his confederates in this great rebellion; and you were so unwilling to expel them from the Senate that not a single syllable appears upon your Journal, or upon the records of the proceedings of this body, for the expulsion of either of them, except the resolution offered by the Senator from Connecticut, [Mr. FOSTER,] which I have read in your hearing, that was referred knowingly to the Committee on the Judiciary, there to be lost.

Mr. President, I think I have conclusively proven by precedents that this body would not have expelled the honorable Senator from Indiana at the time of the commission

of his alleged offense. But now public sentiment having changed, a different spirit existing throughout the country, I ask whether it comports with the dignity of this body to punish what it would have tolerated and listened to patiently and without any expression of indignation at the time of its commission? The first expulsion of any of those who acted directly with, or sympathized with the rebellion, did not take place until the 12th day of July, 1861, at the meeting of the extra session.

But, Mr. President, I come now legitimately to my next proposition. The argument as made by the Senator from Kentucky, [Mr. DAVIS,] the Senator from New Hampshire, [Mr. CLARK,] and I believe also by the Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. SUMNER,] was this: that Mr. BRIGHT in recommending Mr. Thomas B. Lincoln to the president of this so-called southern confederacy, must have known from the acts which had occurred prior to that period that we were at war, or had reason to believe that war would follow, and that there was a malicious and traitorous intent in his heart in recommending to Mr. Davis a person who had an improved arm. The Senator from New Hampshire entertained the Senate by reading all the acts of aggression which had occurred on the part of the southern people in the seizure of forts, the mint at New Orleans, the arsenals, and other outrages that they committed, extending over a period of two months, and argued from this that if Mr. BRIGHT had exercised common intelligence, he must have known that war then existed; and he read from the opinion of a learned judge—Judge Smalley, I believe—that these acts were warlike acts, and for that reason, in his view, a case was made out clearly against the Senator.

Well, sir, upon the 1st day of March—nay, sir, upon the 4th of March—there was no war. The country did not dream of war. There was not a man now loyal to our Government, no one except some of those already in arms, who had the slightest idea that the present state of things ever would exist. Did the President believe there would be war? No, sir. Did Congress believe there was war? What did it do? It adjourned without making appropriations beyond those purely necessary to carry on the Government. It adjourned without passing any of those measures requisite to place the Government upon a war footing; and I say further, that no proposition was ever offered in either House that had war in contemplation. When we broke up our executive session at the close of the month of March, every Senator here who looks into his own heart believed, (it may have been that his belief was founded upon his hopes,) but he believed that reason would return to these mad men, who, in destroying the Government—like Samson in pulling down the temple—must have themselves known, that they, too, were to be buried in its ruins. How did those who were invested with the chief administrative authority regard it?

What did President Lincoln say on the eastern portico of the Capitol relative to the condition of the country in his inaugural address? After laying down his theoretical view, he said:

“In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego, for the time, the uses of such offices. The mails, unless repelled will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and, in every case and exigency, my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affection.”

That was the language of the Chief Magistrate on the 4th day of March. How did it fall upon the ears of the country? Let me quote on this point the language of distinguished Senators and statesmen from different localities. What, I ask you, said the distinguished Senator, now deceased, from the State of Illinois?—a man ever watchful and ever anxious not only to preserve the Government, but guard it at every point from assault; who was one of the most faithful sentinels upon the citadel of the Republic, ever ready to give the alarm when he saw danger approaching. What did he say in one of his last speeches here before he went to his western home to die? This was the language of Mr. Douglas, on the 7th day of March:

“I shall cling to the hope that the peace policy will prevail, until I see the contrary shown by some authoritative act of the President himself. I care not what individual Senators may think. I draw my conclusions not from what this man or that man thinks. I believe there are a great many men in the Republican party who hold principles and a policy entirely repugnant to the views of the President. I draw my inference, therefore, from the official action of the two Houses of Congress, and from the inaugural address of the President. I think these facts show conclusively that we are to have no war, no bloody collision, and that the peace policy is going to prevail.”

Again, he said, upon another occasion:

“This was the whole substance of what I said, or of what I intended to say. The Senator from Texas thinks that the expression of such an opinion, and the drawing of such a conclusion from the inaugural address is calculated to have a bad effect upon the country. I do not see how. It strikes me that if the country can rest secure in the belief that there is to be peace; that there is to be no civil war; that armies are not to be mustered in conflict with each other, it will have a happy effect upon the country. I am sure that every man who loves his country—every man who cherishes with affection this glorious Union; for I assert that she is still glorious, and dearer to me than ever—every man who loves constitutional liberty, and who is proud of being an American, ought to rejoice in the belief that peace can be maintained.

"If I am allowed to judge from the various speeches the Senator from Texas has made recently on this floor, I am forced to the conclusion that he does not feel, on this subject of preserving the peace, entirely as I do. He has told us more than once that we could take our choice between peace and war, and that he did not care which. I do care; and therein consists the difference between the Senator from Texas and myself. Because I do care whether the issue is to be peace or war, I was induced to ascertain what was to be the policy of the Administration, and I arrived at the conclusion, sincerely and firmly, that the inaugural means peace. Hence I expressed my gratitude at that result."

I have read you the opinion of a Senator from the Northwest. Let me refer you, lastly, to what the distinguished Senator from Maine, [Mr. FESSENDEN,] a leader from the great Northeast, said also in relation to this question. Here is his language, delivered on the 15th day of March:

"Now, sir, what is the object of this movement of the Senator from Illinois? As my friend from Massachusetts has said, but a very few days have elapsed since the President came into power. He made a peace address to the people, as the Senator admits; and, as the Senator repeats again this morning, he construes it as a declaration of peace. The President says distinctly in that inaugural, 'I mean peace to the country. I will make war upon no portion of it; and if war is to follow, it must be made by others upon the administration of the Government.' That is the declaration. Why not be content with it?"

Now, sir, I ask Senators if there was war—if it was inevitable; if the conflict of arms was even probable at the time the honorable Senator from Indiana, on the 1st day of March, wrote this letter, why was it that the President of the United States and these distinguished Senators, whose loyalty is not questioned, did not say to the country that war was inevitable and then existed? The honorable Secretary of State, (Mr. Seward,) far later than that, as late as the 10th day of April, two days before the assault on Fort Sumter, in his dispatch to Mr. Adams, our minister to the Court of St. James, uses this language:

"Only an imperial or despotic government could subjugate thoroughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the State. This Federal republican system of ours is of all forms of government the very one which is most unfitted for such a labor. Happily, however, this is only an imaginary defect. The system has within itself adequate, peaceful, conservative, and recuperative forces. Firmness on the part of the Government in maintaining and preserving the public institutions and property, and in executing the laws where authority can be exercised *without waging war*, combined with such measures of justice, moderation, and forbearance as will disarm reasoning opposition, will be sufficient to secure the public safety until returning reflection, concurring with the fearful experience of social evils, the inevitable fruits of faction, shall bring the recalcitrant members cheerfully back into the family, which, after all, must prove their best and happiest, as it undeniably is their most natural home. The Constitution of the United States provides for that return by authorizing Congress, on application to be made by a certain majority of the States, to assemble a national convention, in which the organic law can, if it be needful, be revised so as to remove all real obstacles to a reunion, so suitable to the habits of the people, and so eminently conducive to the common safety and welfare.

"Keeping that remedy steadily in view, the President, on the one hand, will not suffer the Federal authority to fall into abeyance, nor will he, on the other, aggravate existing evils by attempts at coercion which must assume the form of direct war against any of the revolutionary States."

These words were written by the Secretary of State on the 10th day of April, nearly six

weeks after this letter was written by the honorable Senator from Indiana, containing the clear enunciation that the policy of the Administration was not war, was not coercion.

On the 12th of April, the President, in his response to the committee of the Virginia convention, said:

"Not having as yet seen occasion to change, it is now my purpose to pursue the course marked out in the inaugural address. I commend a careful consideration of the whole document as the best expression I can give to my purposes. As I then and therein said, I now repeat, 'the power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what is necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.'"

* "Whatever else I may do for the purpose, I shall not attempt to collect the duties and imposts by any armed invasion of any part of the country; not meaning by this, however, that I may not land a force deemed necessary to relieve a fort upon the border of the country."

It is a notorious fact that the Postmaster General allowed the mails to be carried in the seceded States down to the 27th of May, nearly three months after this letter was written by the Senator from Indiana. Here is his communication to the House of Representatives upon this subject:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, July 12, 1861.

SIR: The act of Congress in relation to the postal service, approved February 28, 1861, provides "that whenever, in the opinion of the Postmaster General, the postal service cannot be safely continued, or the Post Office revenues collected, or the postal laws maintained, on any post route, by reason of any cause whatsoever, the Postmaster General is hereby authorized to discontinue the postal service on such route, or any part thereof, and any post offices thereon, till the same can be safely restored, and shall report his action to Congress." In compliance with this act, and because of the obstruction of the service by the insurgents, I directed it to be discontinued on the 27th of May, by an order herewith communicated, in the so-called seceded States, except in Western Virginia; and have since directed its discontinuance in West and Middle Tennessee. The events which have rendered this course necessary are so well known as to render any explanation of my action unnecessary. It seems, indeed, more to be required that I should explain why I suffered the service to continue so long in those States. The chief reason for this was, that the mails alone afforded the means of diffusing any correct information among the people of the South, and disabusing their minds of the prevalent errors which the conspirators had availed themselves of to organize the insurrection. I felt assured that the expressions of public sentiment which would be evoked on the first act of war, if allowed to reach the people of the South, would go far to break down the conspiracy.

The postal service afforded the best means to communicate to the people of the South the judgment which I was confident the civilized world would pronounce against the rebellion when its real purpose was distinctly seen; and although I knew that the instruments of the revolutionary despotism temporarily established there were doing everything in their power to suppress all correct information, it was nevertheless apparent that information of the most important character was disseminated through the mails. Actuated by such views, I was not only disposed to continue the service in existence when I came into office, but even to restore it where it had been discontinued by my predecessor; and for this purpose, at an early day I sent a special agent to the South to establish the principal offices which had been discontinued. But the insurrectionary leaders comprehending, I believe, as I did, the effect of the mails upon their power, refused then to allow those offices to be re-established, and more recently have excluded the mails from all portions of the country in which their military power is established. While the military despotism which was

organized in secret clubs by the conspirators is suffered to dominate over the people of the South, there is no means of ascertaining whether the policy I have pursued has been advantageous or not. But I have no doubt that the people of the South will vindicate it and themselves the first moment that they are liberated from the cruel despotism which now prevails. The discontinued service, as appears by a detailed statement herewith submitted, cost the Government \$3,096,427 24 over and above the receipts therefrom.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
M. BLAIR,

Postmaster General.

The SPEAKER of the House of Representatives.

It is also another notorious fact that the President of the United States, to whom was intrusted the guardianship and protection of the honor of the Government, with whom was vested the power to put down rebellion, to use all the means necessary to sustain the nation, issued his first proclamation enforcing the blockade of the southern ports on the 19th day of April, 1861. That proclamation applied to the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. The blockade was subsequently, on the 27th day of April, extended over the ports of North Carolina and Virginia—nearly ten days after the first proclamation; while the proclamation calling out volunteers to protect the capital, and to sustain the Government in its resort to coercion, was not issued until the 3d day of May, 1861. Let me present these proclamations to the Senate:

THE BLOCKADE.

To all whom it may concern.

UNITED STATES FLAG SHIP CUMBERLAND,

OFF FORTRESS MONROE, VIRGINIA, April 30, 1861.

I hereby call attention to the proclamation of his Excellency Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, under date of April 27, 1861, for an efficient blockade of the ports of Virginia and North Carolina, and warn all persons interested that I have a sufficient naval force here for the purpose of carrying out that proclamation.

All vessels passing the Capes of Virginia, coming from a distance, and ignorant of the proclamation, will be warned off, and those passing Fortress Monroe will be required to anchor under the guns of that fort, and subject themselves to an examination.

G. J. PENDERGRAST,

Flag Officer commanding Home Squadron.

A PROCLAMATION

By the President of the United States of America.

Whereas, for the reasons assigned in my proclamation of the 19th instant, a blockade of the ports of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas, was ordered to be established.

And whereas, since that date, public property of the United States has been seized, the collection of the revenue obstructed, and duly commissioned officers of the United States, while engaged in executing the orders of their superiors, have been arrested and held in custody as prisoners, or have been impeded in the discharge of their official duties without the legal process, by persons claiming to act under authority of the States of Virginia and North Carolina, an efficient blockade of the ports of those States will also be established.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

WASHINGTON, April 27, 1861.

A PROCLAMATION

By the President of the United States.

Whereas, existing exigencies demand immediate and adequate measures for the protection of the national Constitution and the preservation of the national Union, by the suppression of the insurrectionary combinations now existing in several States for opposing the laws of the Union and obstructing the execution thereof, to which end a military force in addition to that called forth by my proclamation of the 15th day of April, in

the present year, appears to be indispensably necessary: now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, and of the militia of the several States when called into actual service, do hereby call into the service of the United States forty-two thousand and thirty-four volunteers, to serve for a period of three years, unless sooner discharged, and to be mustered into service as infantry and cavalry. The proportions of each army, and the details of enrollment and organization, will be made known through the Department of War; and I also direct that the regular Army of the United States be increased, by the addition of eight regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and one regiment of artillery, making altogether a maximum increase of twenty-two thousand and seven hundred and fourteen officers and enlisted men. The details of which increase will also be made known through the Department of War; and I further direct the enlistment, for not less than one nor more than three years, of eighteen thousand seamen, in addition to the present force, for the naval service of the United States. The details of the enlistment and organization will be made known through the Department of the Navy. The call for volunteers hereby made, and the direction for the increase of the regular Army, and for the enlistment of seamen hereby given, together with the plan of organization adopted for the volunteers and for the regular forces hereby authorized, will be submitted to Congress as soon as assembled.

In the meantime, I earnestly invoke the co-operation of all good citizens in the measures hereby adopted for the effectual suppression of unlawful violence, for the impartial enforcement of Constitutional laws, and for the speediest possible restoration of peace and order, and with those of happiness and prosperity throughout our country.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

WASHINGTON, Friday, May 8, 1861.

Now, what follows from these facts? Simply this: that if the Senator from Minnesota is right in his denunciation of the Senator from Indiana, as having been guilty of treason in writing this letter on the 1st day of March, then the Administration—your Government—was guilty of a far greater treason in allowing for six, eight, ten weeks munitions of war to be carried South, and communications from disloyal citizens of the North to the disloyal citizens of the South through the medium of your postal communication. If he wrote a letter simply recommending a gentleman—a letter that was never delivered, a mere declaration of personal sentiment upon his part—how insignificant must be his guilt in the eyes of the country, as compared to the guilt of your Government and its chief in authority in allowing for eight weeks and upwards arms and munitions of war to go peaceably from the North to the South, and getting into their possession everything calculated to make their rebellion a success. Here is an inconsistency that I have not yet heard explained by any gentleman who professes adherence to the dominant party.

It proves nothing to my mind, except that at the date of this letter by the Senator from Indiana, the constituted authorities did not believe there would be war; that the Senator from Indiana did not believe it; that he had no more disloyal intent in his heart in the sending of this letter of introduction to the president of the so called confederate States than Mr. Lincoln, or Governor Chase, or your Secretary of War had in permitting munitions of war to go freely from the northern to the southern ports, in allowing produce

to go from the West, and in allowing the free intercourse of the mails. They believed just as you believed, and as I believed, and as we all believed, that reason would soon assert her sway, and there would be a peaceful solution to all our troubles.

The honorable Senator from Kentucky, [Mr. DAVIS,] in his remarks the other day, saw fit to complain of the honorable Senator from Indiana, who is now on trial, because he was opposed to the doctrine of coercion. It is true this is not a cause *stated* in the resolution why he should be expelled from this body; but among other reasons as going to show the treasonable intent on his part in the writing of this communication, the Senator says Mr. BRIGHT was and has been opposed to the doctrine of coercion! Why, Mr. President, up to the taking of Sumter—which fell on the 12th day of April—I have read enough to show that it was the settled policy of our Government, it was the settled policy of the Administration itself; nay, sir, it was the settled policy of good judgment and reason everywhere that the Government should not resort to the coercive power, to its strong arm, unless driven to it by greater exigencies than had at that time disclosed themselves. I say that was the opinion not only of this body, from extracts which I have read, but it was the opinion of the constituted authorities—the present Administration. And I may go further and say it was the general opinion of the press throughout the country; and many that are to-day howling after the blood of the Senator from Indiana, who are exceedingly anxious to see judgment visited upon him at our hands, were then openly advocating the allowance, if necessary, of these States to go in peace rather than resort to the strong arm of the Government to suppress and crush out this rebellion. Let me read what a distinguished editor—named by the honorable Senator from Kentucky a “horrible monster,” a *monstrum horrendum*—told the country on the 8th day of December, 1860—he who is now so excessively anxious that a victim be made; that the dignity of the country be vindicated by hurling indignantly the Senator from Indiana from our presence. A letter was addressed to him by A. L. Post, dated Montrose Pennsylvania, December 4, 1860, making certain inquiries, and in response, Mr. Greeley says:

“As to what Congress may be *bound*, in a certain contingency, to do, we will not decide. It is far more to the purpose to decide what Congress *can* and *will* do. And we again avow our deliberate conviction that, whenever six or eight contiguous States shall have formally seceded from the Union, and avowed the pretty unanimous and earnest resolve of their people to *stay* out, it will not be found practicable to coerce them into subjection; and we doubt that any Congress can be found to direct and provide for such coercion. One or two States may be coerced; not an entire section or quarter of the Union. If you do not believe this, wait and see”—*New York Tribune*, December 8, 1860.

This was not only the tone of this leading press, but it was the tone of a majority of the papers throughout the country, who openly held, in conjunction with those in authority,

as I have already stated, that the policy of this Government was not to resort to the strong arm of power in bringing these people back within the folds of the Union.

But, Mr. President, the Senator from Kentucky draws an inference prejudicial to the Senator from Indiana, from the fact that he voted for Mr. Breckinridge at the presidential election, who is now in open arms against the Government, and who has been expelled from this body; and, forsooth, in consequence of that vote, in connection with other acts, as he said, he was satisfied in his own mind of his disloyalty to this Government. There would be just about as much propriety in my arguing that because any Senator on this floor chose to vote for Mr. Bell, another candidate for the Presidency, (who is now an open and avowed disloyal citizen of your Government, and who, according to rumor, I do not know whether true or untrue, has a large iron manufactory molding cannon and making munitions of war for the southern confederacy,) I should be from that vote justified in pronouncing judgment against his loyalty. Here is the language of the Senator from Kentucky:

“What course did the gentleman himself take in that election, if I am correctly informed? Why was it that a ticket was run for John C. Breckinridge in the State of Indiana? Why was a ticket run for John C. Breckinridge in the State of Illinois? Why was a ticket run for John C. Breckinridge in many other States? It was simply to abstract that many votes from Douglas, in order to give those States certainly, or probably, at least, to Lincoln, and secure his election, and bring about the condition on which these southern traitors were to dissolve the Government.”

Mr. President, I advocated (I happened to be where I could not vote for him) the election of Mr. Breckinridge. I did it because I believed—and I have no hesitation in saying it—that he stood upon the proper platform upon which a President should be elevated to power. I was one of eight hundred thousand people who supported him. The Senator from Tennessee, [Mr. JOHNSON,] if I recollect aright, now a great leader in our Union cause, also advocated Mr. Breckinridge's election.

Mr. DAVIS. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question, and to make a suggestion?

Mr. LATHAM. Certainly, sir.

Mr. DAVIS. My complaint of the Senator from Indiana was, not that he voted for Mr. Breckinridge; but it was that, in the State of Indiana, and in other States where there was no hope whatever that Mr. Breckinridge could carry the electoral vote, but, on the contrary, where it was obvious that he would get a very few votes, the policy of running an electoral ticket for him in such States was to diminish the probabilities of the election of Douglas, and to secure the probabilities of the election of Lincoln.

Now, the gentleman from California avows that he approved of the principles of Mr. Breckinridge as a candidate for the Presidency, if I understand him.

Mr. LATHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, among those principles

one of the leading ones is this: if I understood Mr. Breckinridge's politics at the time, he was a believer in and subscriber to the doctrine of State rights as taught by the school of the Virginia politicians. Do I understand the gentleman from California as indorsing that principle?

Mr. LATHAM. The honorable Senator cannot divert me into a discussion upon party platforms. What my views were as to the principles enunciated in the platform upon which Mr. Breckinridge stood are in print, and he can easily ascertain them. As to the doctrine of State rights my views were well known in this body long anterior to the nomination of Mr. Breckinridge. If by his remark he intends to imply that I have ever in any way indorsed one of the leading features of the Virginia politicians; to wit: the heresy of the right of secession, I have only to say to him that I was among the very first upon this side of the House on this floor, when that doctrine was boldly asserted during the present contest, to deny any such right, and to oppose it in every possible and conceivable shape in which it was brought forward.

Mr. DAVIS. Will the gentleman allow me another word?

Mr. LATHAM. Certainly, sir.

Mr. DAVIS. I am glad to hear the gentleman express his adherence to that position. He and myself on that point, at least, agree. I hold that the doctrine of State rights, as entertained by the Virginia school, and now termed southern rights, is, and has been, the mother of all our political mischief. That is the great heresy which has debauched the mind of the politicians of this country, and has enabled them to bring the present rebellion to its great and enormous condition. But here, sir, is what appears strange to me, that a gentleman so opposed to the Virginia doctrine of State rights should have been so strong in his adherence to and support of a candidate who made that principle one of the foundation stones upon which he built his whole system of politics.

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. President, as I said before, upon the resolution for the expulsion of the Senator from Indiana, I do not propose to be drawn into a discussion as to party platforms. I repeat what I have ever held upon this point, that all questions of this kind, even questions involving the rights of the States as set up by the Virginia school of politicians, and carried, in my humble judgment, to a greater extreme than the author of the old Virginia resolutions ever imagined, legitimately belong to the hustings, and are not questions upon which I am here to be arraigned, even though I might agree with them in sentiment. Sir, there is a place where all American statesmen and people settle such questions. It is the place prescribed by the Constitution itself, to which I have ever appealed. The place to settle these questions is the ballot-box, where authority is vested by a simple paper missive to control and mold and form our Government, where you deposit

"That weapon that comes down as still
As snow-flakes fall upon the sod,
But executes a freeman's will
As lightning does the will of God."

I am opposed to the doctrine of revolution in every shape. In my humble judgment, the honorable Senator from Kentucky, in arraigning the Senator from Indiana for political principles that he may have avowed and professed, is advocating a rule which will bring revolution within the circle of this Chamber; inaugurating proscription for opinion's sake; putting our country but one step from that which the French people occupied when they inaugurated the guillotine. It is against the tendency of these doctrines as enunciated, as I understood him, by the Senator from Kentucky calling this gentleman to an account for his support of any one man for the Presidency on principles professed by him, that I enter my solemn protest.

Mr. DAVIS. Will the gentleman allow me?

Mr. LATHAM. I would do so with pleasure, but I do not desire to get into a running discussion.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, the gentleman must not get athwart of me if he wants to avoid discussion—

The PRESIDING OFFICER, (Mr. RICE in the chair.) The Senator from California has the floor, and declines to yield.

Mr. DAVIS. I did not understand him so, if the Chair pleases. If he did, of course I shall submit; but I did not so understand him.

Mr. LATHAM. When I am through, the gentlemen can go on.

Sir, up to the meeting of Congress, in the month of July, there had not been upon this floor any one more consistently opposed to the whole doctrine of coercion than myself. I believed up to that period that the weapon of reason should be appealed to, and not the strong arm of the Government. If I had followed the advice of my worthy and honorable friend from Tennessee, [Mr. JOHNSON,] with whom I interchanged ideas, I should probably have discovered that I had made a great mistake. I believed, as I have said to the Senate, that these southern people never intended to involve this country in the struggles which now exist, which, if they had had the common foresight that belonged to human intelligence, they must have foreseen would end in the destruction of those very rights that they pretend now to be fighting for.

Mr. President, I shall ever oppose, while I have a seat upon this floor, proscription of any man for his opinions in this body. I desire to call the attention of the Senate, in these days when the question of loyalty has assumed such varied aspects, what would have been the condition of our country a few years ago, when the party of which I am a member was dominant, if, in addition to saying, as it always did, that the inauguration of the avowed principles of the Republican party would break up the Government, it had, as suggested by the Senator from New

York, [Mr. HARRIS,] also exercised the power of passing judgment and expelling Senators for mere opinions expressed on this floor? It is safe to say that there is scarcely a single member upon the other side of the Chamber that would have been here to-day to respond to his name. What would have been thought when a Senator on that side of the Chamber, in 1850—the honorable Senator from New Hampshire, [Mr. HALE]—introduced a petition, on the 7th day of February, from the people of Pennsylvania and Delaware, praying for a dissolution of the Union, if a motion had been made to expel him from this body? The petition which Mr. Webster said deserved this title:

"Gentlemen members of Congress, whereas at the commencement of this session you and each of you took your solemn oaths, that in the presence of God and on the Holy Evangelists, that you would support the Constitution of the United States; now, therefore, we pray you to take immediate steps to break up the Union, and overthrow the Constitution of the United States, as soon as you can. And, as in duty bound, we will ever pray."

What, I ask, would have been thought, when Mr. Chase, your Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Seward, your Secretary of State, were the only members who voted with the Senator from New Hampshire for the reception of that petition, if a motion had been made to drive them from this body? What, I ask, too, would have been thought if a motion had been made in the House of Representatives to expel a member from Massachusetts, now a distinguished leader in the Union Army, because he said, "I am willing, in a certain state of circumstances, to let the Union slide?" What would have been thought, even at this session of Congress, if, when the nomination of the representative of your Government at the Court of Brazil came before us, a motion had been made to reject him because he had said, referring to one of your party conventions:

"On the action of this convention depends the fate of the country. If the Republicans fail at the ballot-box, we will be forced to drive back the slaveocracy with fire and sword."

What, sir, if when considering the nomination of the gentleman who now represents your Government in our great and growing interest on the Pacific, (Mr. Burlingame,) we had refused the confirmation on account of his saying:

"The times demand that we must have an anti-slavery Constitution, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God."

What, sir, if a motion had been made to expel the Senator who introduced a petition coming from Republican citizens, in which they declare:

"We earnestly request Congress, at its present session, to take such initiatory measures for the speedy, peaceful, and equitable dissolution of the Union, as the exigencies of the case may require."

Sir, I know very well what my Republican friends would have said: "you are seeking to destroy and break down one of the very corner-stones of our Government—the right of free speech and the right of free thought."

Who makes you the arbiter of my thoughts or of my judgment? We are each sent here by a State of this Confederacy to represent her, to speak for her; and the question is between our constituency and ourselves, our conscience and our God. I concede that when it comes to acts it is a very different question; but when I confine myself merely to sentiments, I concede the right to no man on this floor, and I never will while I occupy a seat here, to expel me because I dare announce those sentiments. Sir, we are upon a stream, whose current is fast enough, God knows. Let me tell the venerable, patriotic, and talented Senator from Kentucky, that "the bells of time are ringing changes fast," and the sentiments that he uttered the other day against emancipating and arming the slaves may not be the ruling sentiments of the ides of October; and he may feel that great injustice and harshness is done to him, if, for uttering those humane sentiments, a majority of this body, under the dominant exigencies and opinions which may at that time exist, should attempt to hurl him from his seat, on the ground that he himself was inconsistent, according to its idea, with the true spirit of a loyal American citizen.

Mr. President, the old landmarks of our Constitution are fading fast enough. We have now no liberty of the press. The great, striking feature of *Magna Charta*, wrung from King John upon the plains of Runnymede by our great British ancestors—the right to the writ of *habeas corpus*—has gone; more than a thousand of our fellow-citizens, without due process of law, lie rotting in your political bastilles. Sir, I trust that even if these things are so, at least within these walls the representatives of the people and the States shall have the right of free speech, and the utterance of whatever sentiments they may see fit to proclaim, without having their peers sit in judgment upon them.

Mr. President, since this rebellion broke out; since war became inevitable; since there was no other resort than to the strong arm of the Government; since it became a death struggle for existence, I have voted, and I shall continue to vote, for every measure to furnish money and men to enable us to show power and strength in this contest. The people of this country have placed the entire resources in the hands of the present authorities; they have done that which the Athenian poet said the people of Athens had done—they have ceded.

"The tributes of the States, the States themselves,
To bind, to loose; to build and to destroy;
In peace, in war, to govern; nay, to rule
Their very fate, like some superior thing."

I shall stand by the national authorities so long as they stand by the Constitution and the laws. While the authorized Government of the United States follows that Constitution and those laws, it will have the sympathies of the civilized world. Without such obedience it cannot triumph. Even as in the darkest night the mariner trusts implicitly and strictly

to the unerring pointing of the needle upon the dial of his compass, so should we, in this hour of our Republic's "mortal agony," to the chart of our liberties, as prescribed in the Constitution of our fathers. So doing, we should triumph, "as surely as the night succeeds the day"—we must triumph. But, sir, forsaking this our chart and map, we shall, I fear, too soon be in the deepest current of that dark and turbid stream that has rolled through all time, bearing downward the successive nations of the earth to the great sea of oblivion, to be forgotten forever and forever.

I am sorry to have occupied so much of the time of the Senate.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FEBRUARY 17, 1862.

Mr. LATHAM, from the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia, submitted a report, (No. 13,) accompanied by the following bill; which was read and passed to a second reading.

A BILL

To authorize the survey of a route for telegraphic communication between the city of San Francisco, in the State of California, and the Amoor river, in Eastern Asia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and empowered to appoint a suitable person as engineer, either as an officer of the Corps of Topographical Engineers or otherwise, as he may deem the best suited for the purpose, and such other persons as he may deem necessary, to make such explorations and surveys as may be deemed advisable to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a telegraphic communication between San Francisco, in the State of California, by the way of Behring's Straits, and the mouth of the Amoor river, in Eastern Asia; and that for the purpose of carrying this act into effect the sum of one hundred thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

SECT. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That authority is hereby given, and the Secretary of the Navy directed and required, to detail, for the use of the survey authorized by the preceding section of this act, one small steam or sailing vessel, in his discretion, to assist in said survey; and that the persons employed in said survey, whether of the army, navy, or of the civil service, shall be organized as the engineer herein authorized to be appointed may advise and direct; and that the report of said survey shall be presented to Congress on or before the first Monday in January, eighteen hundred and sixty-three.

REPORT.

The Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the memorial of Mr. Perry McD. Collins, asking the aid of Congress "that a survey may be made of the North Pacific ocean, in view of overland telegraphic communication with Europe, via Asiatic Russia," would respectfully report :

That it appears from the memorial, the accompanying papers, and other information on file in the Department of State, that he personally undertook and accomplished a voyage over land from St. Petersburg, in European Russia, to the mouth of the Amoor river, on the Pacific ocean, with a view of proving to the commercial world the value and practicability of nearer relations with the hitherto unknown and unexplored regions of Siberia, the great Amoor river, and of Tartary. Mr. Collins performed his task in a most commendable and satisfactory manner.

He being the first American who penetrated these regions, from him we have reliable information in regard thereto.

Accompanying these explorations special attention was paid to the subject of immediate steam and telegraphic connexion with them and our present Pacific possessions. He found a practicable and highly favored route already existing for the construction of an overland telegraph, uniting us with those Chinese and Japanese ports where, even now, is concentrated the great bulk of commerce. At the time of this gentleman's first visit to that country the telegraph had not extended east of Moscow, in Russia, nor west of St. Louis, in the United States.

The original plan, therefore, comprised an intermediate space of 14,000 miles; a portion of this distance, 4,000 miles, at least, nearly due east from Moscow, being along the route traversed by the great Russo-Chinese caravans to Kyachta, on the frontier of Chinese Mongolia; the whole route, from city to city and from village to village, protected from interruption by the vigilance of government and good order of society as safely as in any portion of our own States.

Aside from governmental considerations, the two great centres of Russo-Asiatic commerce, Kyachta and Nijne-Novgorod, would be brought in telegraphic union, and the whole of Siberia in practical contact with Europe.

From Kyachta the route proposed would

cross the Tablonoi mountains, reaching at once the head-waters of the Amoor at Chetah, the seat of government for the province of Trans-Baikal, eastern Siberia; thence along its main course to the strait and coast of Tartary upon the Pacific.

When first proposed, the latter portion of the above route, from the head of the Amoor to the sea, was considered very difficult; but recently, Russia, having obtained by treaty with China the sovereignty of this river and country to the north, has extended over it the same system of Cossack settlements and post-stations which secure and render communication all through Siberia so orderly and safe; moreover, has already placed a number of steamers successfully on the navigable portion of the river.

The only remaining point is to reach satisfactorily the shores of America, portions of the country remaining still unexplored. The proposed route is to proceed from the mouth of the Amoor up and along the coast of the Ohotsk sea, from the head of the Gulf of Penjinsk across the head of the peninsula of Kamschatka to the Anadir river; thence to a point under the lee of East cape, crossing Behring's strait to the south of the Gode-now islands, and reaching the American coast south of Cape Prince of Wales.

From this point to the American continent proceed southerly to Sitka, the capital of Russian America, thence through the British possessions to Vancouver, and thence to San Francisco.

Russians, who have given this subject any attention, favor the route from the Amoor to Petroparlosky, crossing either the Ohotsk sea or following the island of Sak-hah-lin and the Kurile islands until Kamschatka was reached. From Kamschatka to Behring's and Cupper islands, thence, following the Aleutian islands to Alyaska on the American main land.

This last mode of reaching America, however, involves a very considerable extent of submerged cable. By either of the two routes more than two thousand miles of submerged cable is required, divided, to be sure, into sections of greater or less length.

For instance, if the Ohotsk sea were crossed from opposite the mouth of the Amoor river, one cable of 550 to 600 miles would be required to reach Kamschatka; and again, from Kamschatka to America sections of

from 50 to 300 miles to reach from island to island.

If the route by Sak-hah-lin and the Kurile islands were followed the sections would be less; in no case, however, could less than 2,000 miles of cable be dispensed with, while the whole line, land and submerged, would be greater than the greatest northern land route by Behring's strait.

Mr. Collins indicated two other routes, viz: by the way of Ouloutorskay to Gore's and Nunivack islands, or by Cape Navarin and St. Lawrence island to Cape Romanzof; either of which would not involve more than one-fourth of the extent of cable proposed by the Kurile and Aleutian islands. Since this subject was first agitated it has been much narrowed by the construction of telegraphs, both in Russia and America. The Imperial Government has assumed the construction of the whole line, as originally proposed, from Moscow to the Pacific, a distance of 7,000 miles, which is already in course of construction, as will be seen by the following communication from the Chief of telegraphs addressed to Mr. Collins:

"BUREAU OF THE DIRECTOR IN CHIEF OF
PUBLIC WAYS.

"ST. PETERSBURGH, RUSSIA,
"November 30, 1861.

"SIR: * * * *

"The proposed execution of the telegraphic line from Kazan to the Amoor is divided into two sections. 1st. From Kazan to Irkoutsk. 2d. From Irkoutsk to the mouth of the Amoor river. The telegraph from Kazan is in course of construction through Perm, Ekatherinburg, Tumen to Omsk; and the intention is to carry it forward through Tomsk and Krasnoyarsk to Irkoutsk. The line is finished already to Perm, and in the beginning of next year will be opened from Perm to Omsk.

"The construction of the line will not be finished to Irkoutsk before the year 1863.

"The line from Irkoutsk to the mouth of the Amoor river is proposed to be made through Verchne Udinsk, Chetah, Blagavestchensk, Habaravkah, at the mouth of the river Usuree, and through Sofinsk to Nicolavisky, at the mouth of the Amoor.

"Branches will be carried from Verchne Udinsk towards Kyachta, and from Habaravka, by the mouth of the Songotscha, to the port of Novgorod, on the Gulf of Peter the Great.

"The execution of this line of telegraph will be carried out under the supervision and control of the Governor General of Eastern Siberia, and the Minister of the Navy.

"Steps have already been taken to expedite the building of these lines with the greatest despatch as well as the branches from Nicolavisky to Habaravka, and from Sofinsk to the Gulf of De Castries.

"As to the execution of the line of telegraph from New York to San Francisco, for

the purpose of joining California to the Atlantic, I learned from you, with the greatest personal satisfaction, and afterwards by reading to the same effect in the newspapers.

"Indeed, the union of the Old World with the New World we must expect to see executed and obtained through the Pacific, which will soon appear to be only practicable, and which alone can satisfy the general expectation, particularly as the Russian Government offers so many inducements, in my opinion, by its vast system of works begun and to be carried on without intermission, both in Russia and Siberia. In order to build these lines of telegraphs in a shorter time than was originally intended, there will be taken certain measures as much as possible compatible with the uncommon rapid growth of telegraphs in Russia.

"There are already in operation more than twenty thousand *versts* of telegraph lines, and with branches, almost thirty thousand *versts*; and of this extent, in the last three years, were constructed twelve thousand *versts*, with branches, making almost eighteen thousand *versts*; and besides all these lines there are many more to be constructed to different points *particularly* important to the interests of the *interior of the empire*.

"Accept, dear sir, the assurance of my particular esteem.

"CHEFKIN, *General Adjutant,*
Director in Chief of Public Communications.
"PERRY McD. COLLINS, Esq."

Thus while Russia has been progressing eastward, the United States has been progressing towards the west; and 5,000 miles of continuous wire stretch across the continent, connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific.

The two countries, on their own soil, having already nearly connected the two oceans, this question has been reduced to a far less gigantic task than it seemed only a short year ago.

All we have now to consider is the mere uniting of the two systems, and we have a union of all the continents of the globe. The only subject of discussion now being the least length of deep sea cable.

We have already seen gigantic efforts made, and immense sums of money cast, as it were, into the ocean, in futile attempts to connect great distances. The Atlantic cable, unhappily, after exciting the enthusiasm of the world, has come to a disastrous end; the great Red Sea and India telegraph (submerged in sections from Suez to Babelmandel and Muscat, crossing the Gulf of Persia to Kurachee, in India, near 3,000 miles) has also succumbed to a fate quite as lamentable.

We name these facts, still not without hope, that science, ingenuity, and indomitable will may yet overcome all obstacles.

The recent success of the Malta and Alexandria cable has inspired the friends of long submerged lines with new ardor and ambi-

tion for further efforts. The Malta and Alexandria cable being a three section line, (where the length of any one section does not reach 300 miles, and the strength much augmented over similar ones, the size of the conducting metal quadrupled,) it is to be hoped it may render its working a permanent success. The telegraph under consideration, although of greater length, meets with fewer local obstructions than any of those named, short distances only of submerged cable being found necessary. The whole of Asia would be practically annexed to Europe, and through the line we propose to America, being to us as a political and commercial nation a subject of great and growing magnitude.

We hold the ball of the earth in our hand, and wind upon it a net work of living and thinking wire, till the whole is held together and bound with the same wishes, projects, and interests.

As this Asiatic system penetrates to the east, we may speculate upon probable routes *ad infinitum*. At Kazan, which is considered by Russia as the initial point from whence the Russian Pacific telegraph shall be extended, a line may run south through the Astrakhan, Circassian, and Georgian provinces to Teheran, the capital of Persia, and thence, uniting the cities along the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, connect with the English-Indian line at Kurachee, adding India to the already established Kazan-Amoor line.

Again, from Omsk, a lateral line can be extended through the central portion of northern Asia, uniting Bokara, Turkistan, Cashmere, reaching Cabool *via* Bulk; thus again tapping India through the *northern central* gate of Asia. Progressing east, the *Kazan-Amoor* line, reaching Kyachta, on the borders of Mongolia, can be tapped by a lateral one over the route traversed by the tea caravans to Peking; thence to Shanghai, Amoy, and Hong-Kong; thus China becomes tributary to the "*grand trunk*" line.

From the Chinese coast to the island of Formosa a line may be projected to Luzon, Manila, the capital of Spanish India; thence from island to island until Australia (Melbourne) is reached, embracing the principal centres of trade in that wonderful, rich, and extensive quarter of the globe.

Pursuing our way along the main course of the Amoor, we have seen what Commander Chefkin proposes in regard to branches to the different points upon the sea of Japan, as far south as 42° north latitude, even to the northern limits of Corea.

At this point, without any telegraphic communication, China and Japan would both be within easy and rapid contact by means of steam vessels, when the commerce of these countries could be regulated for either European or American interests; or, from the mouth of the Amoor, a branch line, involving but three short cables in the whole, to the extent of not more than fifty miles, could be

constructed to reach Jeddo, the capital of Japan.

Thus progressing eastward from Moscow to the Pacific, we have prospectively connected the whole of northern Asia, India, China, Japan, Australia, and the Islands of the sea.

We now come to the plain point of the report, the practicability of the *Overland Russian-American Telegraphic Union*.

Under authority from the Russian government, Mr. Collins proposes a survey of the waters, coasts, and islands of the north Pacific, and we think it fully worthy the aid and assistance of our own government.

The waters of the north Pacific, which would come under inspection in the general plan, are much visited by all our ships, more particularly the Pacific whaling fleet; while the opening of Japan and the Amoor has also attracted, within a very few years, a large number of our merchant vessels.

Latterly American vessels having entered this river, the Russian government has also had constructed several sea-going and river steamers in the United States and in Europe, for service here and in the north Pacific, to all of which private enterprise has made an addition of six merchant steamers.

American commerce has then already made its entrance into northeastern Asia; several American commercial establishments have found permanent place within the Amoor at the seat of government, Nicolaivsky; American engineers are employed in this so recently unexplored region; American steam engines, saw mills, and machine shops have also found in the wilds of Tartary a new field of practical occupation.

Thus independent of the consideration of telegraphic communication, the proposed survey of the north Pacific would be of much value to commerce in those regions; our whalers and merchant ships would be guided by certain and reliable information; safe anchorage ground would be revealed; depots and deposits of coal, new bays and harbors would be sought and sounded, and generally much information obtained serviceable and interesting alike to commerce and science.

Again, in view of the contemplated steam postal communication between San Francisco, China, and Japan, this northern commerce must increase; and whatever there may be in the waters, forests, or mines, be made available by the enterprise of our people. Coal is known to abound in the north Pacific, and with steam communication the quality, locality, means and manner of obtaining it, would be valuable and profitable. Entering so largely into our economic life and adding so greatly as it does to the power of a nation in these days of steam, railroads, and manufactures, information in its regard must be of the highest interest.

The distance from San Francisco to the Amoor river *via* Behring's strait—the largest and most northern land line—is estimated at about 5,000 miles. The crossing at the strait, being the only portion of the ocean lying in

the track of the proposed telegraph, is but forty miles wide, which is all the submerged cable that will be required on the whole route. In fact, from New York to Paris, by the *Russian-American line*, we have but this one expanse of water where submerged cable will be required, and though the distance is great geographically, telegraphically it presents no very serious objection.

The most costly, difficult, and longest line in the world is the Pacific telegraph, yet it has not cost over two hundred dollars per mile. The Behring's strait route, from San Francisco to the Amoor, being 5,000 miles long, and estimating it, from climate and sparseness of population, still more expensive to construct than the Pacific, say three hundred dollars per mile, will cost in all but one million five hundred thousand dollars. Thus this connecting link, uniting all the subsisting lines over three continents, costs but a small sum, estimating its value. Experienced and able men, engaged in the construction of long lines, think it can be done for even less.

The highest northern point reached by this route will be within 66° north latitude. The two other highest northern routes would be 63° north latitude and 60° north latitude. The highest point touched, *via* the Aleutian Islands route, keeping the land to Aloyska, will be 62° north latitude on the American coast, and within 54° north latitude on the Asiatic side, while the European lines at present in operation reach considerably above 60° , both in Russia and Sweden.

The climate has presented no impediment in their working. In fact, a cold dry atmosphere is favorable to insulation, so that this, though of great length, would work much more surely and rapidly than shorter lines in lower latitudes.

The American government has already given its aid to the Atlantic Cable and the Pacific telegraph. The British government is constantly aiding telegraph projects, and but recently gave the use of a public vessel to assist in the survey of their North Pacific route, *via* Greenland and Iceland; consequently, we have sufficient precedent, if that were necessary, to justify us in asking aid for this proposed survey, and we instance these facts merely to show that the plan is not one of a wild, chimerical character, not only practicable and feasible, but already almost accomplished.

Mr. Collins has for several years pursued, with indefatigable zeal, the construction of this overland telegraph, not only before foreign governments, but in arousing the public mind to the possibility of ultimate success. He has, at his own expense, pushed this project as far as individual enterprise can go, and he now asks the assistance of his own government to perfect a survey and reconnaissance, with the authority of the Russian government, in regions highly advantageous to us as a commercial nation, and holding

within themselves unexplored treasures of science and knowledge.

An extract of a letter from Professor Morse to Mr. Collins, shown to the committee, on the subject of overland telegraphic communication, will afford matter of interest:

"NEW YORK, November 29, 1861,
"No. 5 West Twenty-second street.

"MY DEAR SIR: Your communication of November 27 is received, and in reply would briefly say, first, in general terms, that I conceive there are no *insurmountable* difficulties in the way of establishing a telegraphic communication with Europe westward from San Francisco. That difficulties of a peculiar character may have to be encountered I do not doubt. * * * * *

"The liability to be injured by climatic changes, such as storms and frost, may be provided against by more than usual substantial material: lower and stronger posts, nearer together, and larger wire, so as to require less frequent and rigid supervision.

"To your fifth question, I answer, I know no reason why they (telegraphs) should not be maintained and worked in high northern latitudes as well as in lower, and my feeling is strong that from the absence of atmospheric moisture, which there congeals into frost and ice, telegraphic wire will conduct better than in warmer latitudes, subject to more rain. * * * * *

"To the eighth question, I can only answer from the scanty means I have of judging of the peculiar obstacles that each of the two routes present. In ordinary circumstances, the less submarine communication the better; but there may be obstacles to a land route, such as hostile uncivilized tribes, or marshy borders, that would throw the advantage on the side of a longer submarine line.

"This point, therefore, can better be determined by the intelligent observation of those who have visited the regions of the proposed line, and no one that I know is more capable of giving a more intelligent opinion than yourself.

"SAM'L F. B. MORSE.

"P. McD. COLLINS, Esq."

We also give an extract from a letter written by Hiram Sibley, esq., of Rochester, who has been as largely engaged in the construction of lines of telegraph as any man in the country:

"WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO.,
"Secretary's Office, Rochester, Oct. 16, 1861.

DEAR SIR:

* * * * *

I can say, however, by way of encouragement to you, that the contemplated difficulties vanished as we approached them.

"The cost of the line will not exceed one-half the lowest estimate made when the contract was awarded to me; and our men are pressing me hard to let them go on to Behring's strait next summer, and (as you say

to me,) "if I had the money," I would go on and complete the line, and talk about it afterwards.

"If the Russian government will meet us at Behring's strait, and give the right of way, &c., through their territory on the Pacific, we will complete the line in two years, and probably in one.

"The work is not more difficult than that we have already accomplished over the Rocky mountains and plains to California; and, in my opinion, the whole thing is entirely practicable, and that, too, in much less time and with much less expense than is generally supposed by those most hopeful. No work costing so little money was ever accomplished by man that will be so important in its results. The benefit resulting to the world will pay the entire cost of the line every year after completion while the world continues to be inhabited by civilized man; and it is to me a matter of surprise that any intelligent person, at all familiar with building and working telegraph lines in the west, should doubt the practicability of the successful working, after built, of a line to Behring's strait.

"Respectfully and truly yours,

"HIRAM SIBLEY.

"P. McD. COLLINS, Esq."

It is astonishing to observe what great enterprises are accomplished with very small and inadequate encouragement; this has been fully proved in the Pacific telegraph, which, although discussed for the last ten years, yet no man would, or association of men could, be found, either in or out of the United States, to undertake its accomplishment without at

least the constructive aid of government; and the mere pittance of forty thousand dollars per annum has accomplished one of the wonders of the age; a sum, we have no doubt, the government will save to itself more than ten times this present year. Let this not be called an improper time to present this subject to Congress, because we are engaged in a war for our national existence, and because we are already taxing the whole energies and resources of the nation in a time of great peril; let us rather say that the United States is not only able to suppress rebellion at home, but able also to extend her great commercial and scientific power over the earth.

Such an enterprise as this telegraph from San Francisco to Asiatic Russia will only strengthen our power as a great commercial nation, and evidence to the world that we surrender nothing to the circumstances of the hour, but go steadily, hopefully, and bravely forward in the path of duty; that while there are so many thousands actively engaged in the strife and hazard of war, there are yet many more thousands equally active and zealous in all the arts of peace. If aided and countenanced by government it would be most readily and quickly undertaken and carried forward.

Thousands of our merchants and ship-owners, having been driven from old time-honored and beaten paths, want new avenues for expansion and extension of trade; and the opening up of this new source of power will reflect honor upon the commerce and high character of the nation that successfully fulfils it.

All of which is respectfully submitted with an accompanying bill.

